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JAMES DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

Published by Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans Dec.r 1844

THE

LIFE,

PROGRESSES, AND REBELLION

OF

JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH,

&c.

TO HIS CAPTURE AND EXECUTION:

14.611

WITH

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE BLOODY ASSIZE,

AND

Copious Biographical Notices.

BY GEORGE ROBERTS,

AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF LYME REGIS," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1844.

00141611

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
New-Street-Square.

TO

THE NATIVES AND INHABITANTS

OF THE

SIX WESTERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND,

THE IMMEDIATE SCENE OF THE MEMORABLE REBELLION

OF THE UNFORTUNATE

DUKE OF MONMOUTH,

These Pages,

WRITTEN TO PERPETUATE THE FAST-FADING RECOLLECTION

OF AN UNDERTAKING WHICH INVOLVED SUCH NUMBERS OF THEIR

ANCESTORS IN BLOODSHED AND EXILE,

ARE

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THEIR FAITHFUL SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

No historian has ever been found to consider and fully record all the events of the Duke of Monmouth's Rebellion. So remarkable a transaction, which had for its scene six counties of the West, and forms an important feature in the general history of our country, surely claims to be treated of at length. No one could have succeeded till lately in the necessary and extensive researches, or in satisfactory local inquiries. Most of those who lived within a century of the Rebellion, and were descendants of the followers of the Duke, were intemperate in their affection for their darling Monmouth, and loud in their exclamations against Kirke and Jeffreys. The last generation used to repeat a thousand incidents of the flight, escape, and execution of the fugitives, many of which were but idle rumours that took their rise in flight and exile, when the erroneous statements that obtained currency could not be corrected.

The present time appears suited to the subject. Public records have been lately arranged and rendered accessible to the historical in-

quirer. The impenetrable silence which many families maintained is now broken, and valuable facts can be elicited in quarters where no information could formerly be gleaned. The shame felt by some individuals that their ancestors had been staunch advocates of nonconformity, and that any of their name had suffered at the hands of the public executioner, no longer prompts all to an idle attempt to smother or distort facts which the archives of the country hold recorded.

The whole of the Duke of Monmouth's career was so entirely passed in the world of faction and of court grandeur, that he who would write his life might appear to undertake the history of his time. The few pages devoted to the life of the Duke up to the period of his rebellion — the principal feature in this work — contain a succinct account of matters that belong to general history, and are fuller upon such as personally relate to the Duke's progresses and unfortunate connection with the disaffected in their plots. Much local information has been introduced which is connected with the events of the subsequent rebellion, to which the early life is ancillary. The general historian will value the local knowledge, which (it is hoped) not obtrusively bears upon the subject, and this not always to throw a halo of light around dignified matters and characters, but to dispel all the importance

that has hitherto been conceded to them. The Mr. Vaughan that was to march with a force that could have turned the scale in Monmouth's favour sinks into utter insignificance;—the arms provided are manifestly insufficient;—the march to fortify Bridgwater was a sheer retreat;—and the Club-army a miserable delusion.

These pages, considered in an historical point of view, will prove of great benefit in after years. They furnish a death-blow to incipient family records. Such a statement requires elucidation. Some persons, falling into the opposite extreme to that complained of,—a feeling of shame and degradation at any connection with Monmouth's Rebellion,—begin to be proud of any ancestor that was with the Duke, and are now beginning to set down, in family Bibles, incidents in the life of their forefathers connected with the campaign, the flight, and even at the execution. Some incorrect and confused accounts have been entered in the "church books" of Dissenting Meeting-houses. These entries might pass some years hence for facts, whereas they are but stories gleaned from traditional accounts of old persons. Tradition, with respect to Monmouth's Rebellion, has become too much obscured to be relied upon.

The arrangement and execution of the work await the judgment of the Public, to whom it is

offered in an unpretending form, as the result of the leisure of several years. To some individuals of congenial taste, and to the local historians, the Author would appeal, to bear testimony to the extent of the sources of new information of which he has availed himself. Many of these were not known to exist; some had never been used. Not the least valuable portion of the work will, he trusts, be found to be that in which generally admitted facts and versions of important transactions are shown to be groundless. May we not here see the force of Berzelius's* remark? that it is "unsafe to conclude that such and such events must be true, merely because they are recorded by a writer who lived when they are said to have happened. Truth is the daughter of time; for time often brings things to light which have been enveloped for ages."

In order to convey some adequate idea of the new sources of information in MSS. that have been used, the following list is given:—

The official papers of Sir Leoline Jenkins, the Secretary of State in Her Majesty's State Paper Office.

The letters of the Earl of Sunderland in the same office.

The treasures of the Harleian, Ayscough, and Lansdown MSS. collections in the library of the British Museum,

referring to the times and rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth.

Among these, the papers of the Rev. Mr. Axe are prominent. The reverend writer used the information of Capt. Standert (who remained with the Duke to the final defeat), and read his account to King James, who communicated additional matter. — Dassell's MS. of the landing, &c. — The examinations of the prisoners taken before the King in Committee at Whitehall.

The Strode-pardon; and various sources of information from Corporation Archives, Dissenting Chapels, and from private families.

The Author would surely expose himself to a charge of ingratitude to very many, or of an ostentatious display of names, were he to attempt to enumerate those who have been instrumental in promoting these inquiries. He begs to return them his most sincere thanks: friendship with several, now of some few years' standing, and which, he trusts, ever to maintain, began with this work. He never, in a single instance, experienced from the distinguished guardians of the historical treasures of the country, and those under them, the slightest neglect: their encouraging assistance has often caused him to overcome difficulties that had appeared insurmountable.

Lyme Regis, November, 1844.

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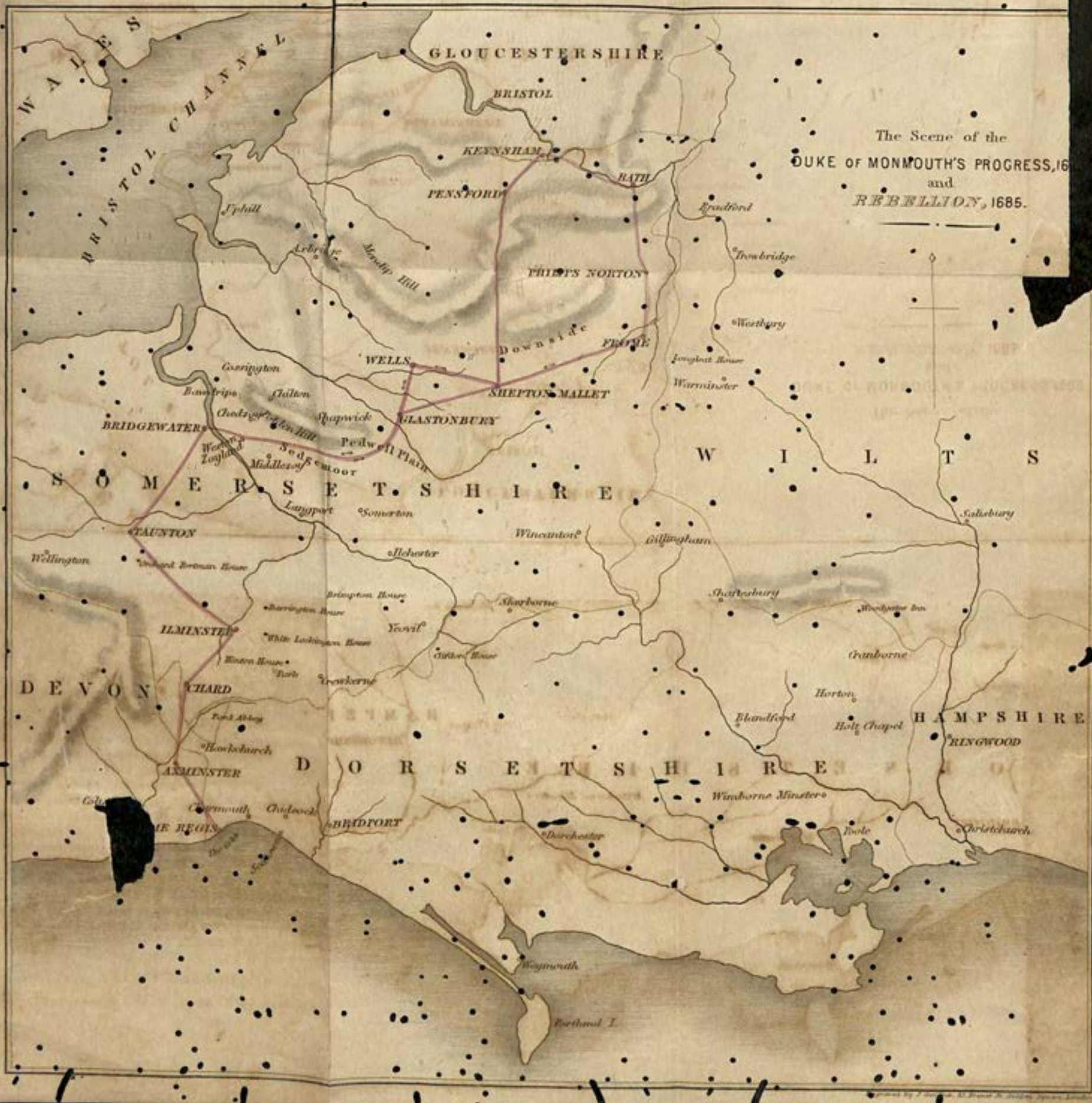
The Scene of the
DUKE OF MONMOUTH'S PROGRESS, 16
and
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WALES
BRISTOL CHANNEL
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
BRISTOL
KEYNSHAM
BATH
PENSFORD
Bradford
Trowbridge
Westbury
Warminster
Longleat House
FROME
Downside
WELLS
SHEPTON MALLET
GLASTONBURY
Shapwick
Pedwell Plain
Sedgemoor
Middlezoy
Langport
Somerton
BRIDGEWATERS
TAUNTON
Wellington
Ilchester
Wincanton
Gillingham
Salisbury
Shaftesbury
Sturminster
Yeovil
ILMINSTER
Crewkerne
Granborne
Horton
Blandford
Holt Chapel
HAMPSHIRE
RINGWOOD
CHARD
AXMINSTER
Hawkchurch
Lyme Regis
Chideock
BRIDPORT
Dorchester
Wimborne Minster
Poole
Christchurch
Weymouth
Portland I.
SOMERSETSHIRE
DEVON
DORSETSHIRE
WILTS

LIFE

OF THE

DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

The mother of the subject of these pages visits London. — Parentage of Lucy Walters or Barlow. — Description of her person. — She becomes the mistress of Colonel Algernon Sidney. — She visits Holland. — Becomes the mistress of Colonel Robert, "the handsome Sidney." — Strives to captivate Charles II. — Birth of James, afterwards Duke of Monmouth. — Opinions respecting his really being the King's child. — The mother is well provided for. — The attendant steals the infant. — The King's child is recovered. — Charles II. goes to Scotland. — Never fully receives his mistress into favour after his return, from her improprieties. — Ormond and Hyde labour to dissolve the connection between the King and Lucy Walters. — She accepts an annuity. — Sets out with her child for Wales. — Cromwell commits both to the Tower. — The cavaliers treat the mother with reverence. — Both are sent back to France. — The mother becomes abandoned, and dies. — Lord Crofts procures the child for the King. — He is called James Crofts. — Queen dowager loves the child. — He is placed with an oratorian. — At nine years old has Ross for tutor. — He inspires the boy with ambitious views. — The boy becomes a Protestant. — Ross's proposal to Cosin. — Ross is dismissed. — Charles II. after the Restoration sends for the boy. — He is brought over by the Queen dowager. — Is well received, and has a maintenance. — Mention of the Countess of Wemyss and her daughter, the Countess of Buccleugh. — Lauderdale procures this heiress for the King's son. — Necessity for giving a name. — An English peerage proposed. — Clarendon argues against this. — King creates his son Duke of Orkney. — This title is changed to that of Duke of Monmouth.

BEFORE the memorable contest of the two great parties in this kingdom had terminated in the triumph of the

parliament over the royalists, and while civil commotion still prevailed in the realm with all its terrors, there arrived in London a young person, whose gentler sex disregarded the alarms of civil strife in the desire to make her fortune.

She was the daughter of Richard Walters, Esq., of Haverford West, in Pembrokeshire, and assumed on this proceeding the name of Barlow. Lucy Walters, or Barlow, was very handsome; Evelyn says she was "a browne, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature."* Eschewing the society of the pious, she flew to that of the gay, and became very profligate. She had "not much wit," possessed "little means, and less grace†," but depended upon her personal charms.

Little is known of this Welsh beauty, except what is connected with her course of life. She attracted the attention of the famous Colonel Algernon Sidney, of Cromwell's army, who being hastily summoned to join his regiment, left the fair one and fifty broad pieces, the terms of his agreement with her.

Having been induced, from whatever motive, to visit Holland, Lucy Walters became the mistress of Colonel Robert, commonly called "the handsome Sidney," Algernon's brother, and lived with him for some time.

King Charles II. then resided at the Hague, and was at that time as eminent for continence, as he afterwards became for the very opposite quality.‡ Lucy Walters conceived the ambitious design of captivating the youthful and exiled monarch, in which she succeeded. Lord Clarendon believed that her visit to Holland was made with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bedchamber willingly preferred her to.

* Diary, ii. 11.
† Oldmixon. Eachard.
‡ James II., Memoirs.

Col. Robert Sidney's remark upon his loss, has been recorded by James II., who attached full credit to the truth of it.*

Lucy Walters, or Barlow, now become King Charles the Second's mistress, gave birth at Rotterdam, April 9th, 1649, to JAMES, afterwards created DUKE OF MONMOUTH. Some said the child was Colonel Sidney's, whom he chiefly resembled even to a wart in the face. James II. always believed this to be the truth; Evelyn writes that Monmouth resembled "handsome Sidney" more than the King. "The knowing world, as well as myself, had many convincing proofs," wrote James, "to think he was not the King's son, but Robert Sidney's." It will be found that the King believed the child to be his, and loved him with great affection. Whether this fondness, which appeared in many remarkable instances in later years, was genuine affection, or proceeded from political motives, is a question that will be entertained in a future page.

An English nurse was provided for the child, which was placed, for the sake of privacy, at the house of Mr. Claes Ghysen, a merchant of Schiedam, a mile from Rotterdam. The mother lodged at the house of Mrs. Harvey, mother to the famous physician Dr. Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. She lived in great splendour, as it appears, having a gentleman and other servants to attend her.

The following account of a remarkable incident in the life of the King's child, appears in a little pamphlet of 1683, written to serve a party at the head of which the hero had been placed.†

* "Let who's will have her, she's already sped."— *Dr. Clarke's Life of James II.*

† An Historical Account of the Heroick Life and Magnanimous

Some time after the child had been placed out at nurse, the mother set out, attended by her gentleman, to visit the infant. Having called by the way to pay a visit, the gentleman asked permission to be excused for a short time, having some particular business to transact. This being readily granted, he hastened to Schiedam, pretended to be sent to fetch the nurse and child, and carried them both away from Mr. Ghysen's. The mother waited patiently till night began to draw on, when her suspicions were excited, and finding a gentleman who offered to accompany her, she proceeded. Finding her son gone, she indulged in the most frantic grief, rent her clothes, and tore her hair. She suspected the child had been carried off to be taken to England, there having been some inquiry made after him, and therefore ordered horses and posted that night to Maeslandsluys, at the mouth of the Meuse. Early in the morning, as she arrived, the mayor of the place and one of the lords of the States were taking boat for the Hague. Having learnt from the distracted mother who the child was, a general search was made, without success. Ten or twelve days after the infant was discovered at Loosdymen and restored to the grieving parent.

We shall find that Ormond and Lord Clarendon afterwards laboured to dissolve the connection the king had formed. The latter writes that the King was desirous to have the child delivered to him, which the

Actions of the most Illustrious Protestant Prince James Duke of Monmouth, containing an account of his Birth, Education, Places, and Titles: with his Great and Martial Achievements in *Flanders* and *Scotland*.

His Disgrace and Departure both from Court and Kingdom; with the most material circumstances that have occurred since his Return. Qto. London. Printed for Thomas Malthus, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, 1683. — Reprinted by G. Smeaton, 1820.

mother would not consent to do.* This attempt at abduction of the child, which nearly proved successful, was probably made at the instigation of some influential courtiers.

The King was summoned to Scotland in the summer of 1650; and after Worcester fight, called by Cromwell "his crowning mercy," in 1651, fled to Charmouth to escape to France in a vessel from Lyme Regis, — a spot rendered famous as that chosen by the infant left behind in Holland, for the commencement of an insurrection.

During Charles II.'s absence, the conduct of his mistress had been such that he did not allow her for some time, if ever fully, to reingratiate herself. She went to Paris. There Charles seemed to have lost sight of his three kingdoms amidst the gaieties of that metropolis. His pleasures and amusements engrossed his attention: it was with difficulty that he could be drawn to the consideration of business; and if he promised to devote a few hours on each Friday to the writing of letters and the signature of despatches, he often discovered sufficient reasons to free himself from the burthen.† But that which chiefly distressed his advisers was the number and publicity of his amours; and, in particular, the utter worthlessness of one woman, Lucy Walters or Barlow, who, by her arts, had won his affection, and, by her impudence, exercised the control over his easy temper. Ormond and Hyde laboured to dissolve this disgraceful connection. They represented to the King the injury which it did to the royal cause in England, where the appearances, at least, of morality were so highly respected; and after several temporary separations they prevailed on Lucy Walters, Jan. 21.

* Continuation of Life, 8vo. 392.

† Clarendon Papers, iii. 159. 170.

1656, to accept an annuity of 400*l.*, and to repair with her child to her native county.*

The Protector Cromwell discovered her presence in London, and sent her to the Tower; from which she was discharged, July 12., by virtue of a warrant to Barkstead the governor. The officers found the grant of five thousand livres a year for life, signed *Charles R.*, with an assurance that he would better the same when it should please God to restore him to his kingdom: it was subscribed by Edward Nicholas, the King's secretary. In Whitelock's account of Mrs. Barlow's discharge from the Tower†, he writes that she called herself the wife of Charles; in the "Mercurius Politicus" she is styled his wife or mistress.‡ During her residence in London the cavaliers carried themselves towards her with a profound reverence and awful respect, treating her as a sacred person, serving her on the knee.§ Cromwell sent her and her child, now doomed to greater purposes than to vegetate in Pembrokeshire, to France, and they returned to Paris, July 16. 1656.

Lucy Walters, upon her return to Paris, entirely forfeited the royal favour. Finding her hopes were desperate, she afterwards abandoned herself to a lewd course of life. She was after this under the care of a clergyman, described by Kennet as "late master of the Charter House." While pretending to be a penitent of Dr. John Cosin, afterwards bishop of Durham ‖, then an exile, and to have been converted from her loose way of

* Dr. Lingard's Hist. of England. † P. 649.

‡ Sir H. Ellis's Letters, New Series, iii. 352.

§ Heroic Life.

‖ Dr. John Cosin, one of the most upright, learned, and munificent prelates that ever added dignity to the English church; who had suffered much from the persecution of the parliament during the interregnum. He died in 1672. — *Smith's Vita J. Cosini.*

life, she really shortened her own days by a vicious course.

The King's desire to have the care of his child was gratified through the intervention of Lord Crofts, an intimate companion in his misfortunes and in his pleasures, who took the child into his charge after the mother's death. The youth passed for a relative of that nobleman, and assumed his name, James Crofts. It is uncertain at what time the Queen-dowager first caused the youth to be brought to her, which led to her entertaining great affection for him; and equally uncertain who placed him under the tuition of Father Goff, an English oratorian, whether the Queen or Lord Crofts. Mrs. Miles was appointed his nurse. When about nine years of age, Thomas Ross, Esq., a Scotchman, afterwards the King's librarian, and secretary to Henry Coventry, Esq., in his embassy to the court of Sweden, took charge of the youth; who, till after the Restoration, continued to be called James Crofts. He lived for some time with the Queen-mother, Henrietta, to whom the secret of his birth had been imparted.

James II., in his Memoirs, charges Ross with having first inspired high thoughts into his pupil, hoping thereby to make his own fortune. Thus early was this youth placed so as to be an object for the aim of political and religious partisans. Each sphere and phase of human life has its own peculiar and appropriate evils and advantages. Some few are, by circumstances, exposed to be the sport of great fortunes which await their early entrance upon the scene. How great should our allowance be for those who are placed in such a trying position! Before this youth could have entertained a

* James II. writes that she died "of the disease incident to that profession."

thought upon a career most likely to be unhappy, one was suggested to him, and the arena presented with double means for embittering a contest — religion and politics.

The youth was first instructed in the Roman Catholic religion by the Oratorians. The change of tutor involved a change of religion by Charles's order.* Mr. Ross applied to Dr. Cosin, and told him he might do a great piece of service to the church of England in keeping out popery if he would but sign a certificate of Charles the Second's marriage to Mrs. Barlow, with whom, as we have mentioned, the Doctor was acquainted as his penitent. According to the terms proposed, this certificate was not to be made use of in the Bishop's lifetime.

The Doctor rejected the proposal, and afterwards acquainted the King with the transaction. His Majesty thought fit to keep the matter secret; but removed Mr. Ross from his situation upon some other pretence, and divulged the affair some years after when the story of the *Black Box*, which will have to be explained, was gaining ground. Such is James II.'s circumstantial account of Ross's designs, which no other authority alludes to.

Before Ross's removal, the Restoration took place, when he was directed to dismiss his former servants and entertain new ones. Coachman and footmen in handsome liveries, with rich coach and six horses, were deemed necessary to enable the King's son to make an appearance suitable to his condition in this country, to which he was about to repair, being sent for by the King, whose great affection for him James confirms, and in which the latter himself participated.

* James II., Life.

The Queen-dowager had been to England, where she was disbursing large sums in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerset House. She was about to return to this country, July 1662, when her Majesty, at the King's request, brought over this youth. He was twelve years of age, extremely handsome, and possessed those external accomplishments which were at that day so much cultivated in France.

The king not being in London, the youth repaired to Hampton Court, where a reception was afforded, in which an extraordinary fondness was displayed by his Majesty, who was willing that every body should believe that he was his son. In August the court removed to Whitehall, where lodgings were assigned to the favourite in the Privy Gallery. No declaration was yet made by the king, otherwise than the public manifestation of his kindness and familiarity. A liberal maintenance was assigned to the youth; but that education which his age required was not provided. There was an absence of mental cultivation, the place of which nothing can supply. The want of this he afterwards felt and lamented.

Courtiers, it will be found, were ready to play off the young and elegant addition to their circle, to advance their own interests, or cross those of others. An illustration of this is ready at hand.

There was at that period living in Scotland the Countess of Wemyss, who had been the wife of the Earl of Buccleugh, by whom she had an only daughter. This heiress of 10,000*l.* a year, the largest fortune in that country, and to be still further increased at the mother's death, was in her own right Countess of Buccleugh, and was still a child of between eight or ten years of age. The Countess of Wemyss had given birth to

an elder daughter, who married Walter, Earl of Tarras. At the death of this sister, Anne, Duchess of Monmouth, succeeded to the title and property.* General Monk, the great Duke of Albemarle, during his command in Scotland was intimate with the Countess of Wemyss, and it was generally believed intended to make a match, which was suitable enough, between his son and the young heiress.† The Earl of Lauderdale, a keen courtier, seeing the favour in which this young person, so recently arrived, stood with the King, thought his rich countrywoman might be better married to the king's *protégé*, and General Monk supported the proposition.

The King approved of this affair. The Countess was desired to bring up her daughter to London, which was complied with. The Earl of Lauderdale was directed to treat with the Countess of Wemyss, who would rather have been referred, for just reasons, to any other great man. Under the direction of the Earl, a contract was drawn up, to be ratified by an act of the Scotch parliament, as both the parties were under age, stipulating that her estate, in case of her death or failure of issue, should devolve upon her affianced husband and his heirs for ever.

The Scotch advocate, in preparing a draft, had styled the young *protégé* the King's "natural son." It was now necessary that the young gentleman should have a name. The King was every day pressed by the Countess of Wemyss, and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create his son a nobleman of England; and was indeed willing to be advised to that purpose.

* Sir Walter Scott's Notes upon Dryden's "Absalom," &c.
† Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

Hitherto the affair had been confided solely to the knowledge of the parties immediately concerned; but as it was now determined to give the youth a name, and intended to confer upon him an English peerage, the king showed the marriage contract to the lord chancellor. Clarendon told his Majesty he need not give any other title of honour than the youth would enjoy by his marriage, by which he would, by the law of Scotland, be called Earl of Buccleugh, which would be title enough. The lord chancellor further desired his Majesty to pardon him if he found fault with the style of the King's "natural son," which had not for many years been used in this country, "and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified." The King's monitor on this occasion pointed out that although the kings of France had, with inconvenience enough to the crown, raised some families from the result of illicit connections, it was always from women of high rank, whose virtue, except with the King, had never been doubted.* A practice of Spain was adduced as an example deserving of being followed. "There the king carefully provides a good education for the child he believes to be his; but never publicly owns him till he has displayed clear evidence of having inherited or acquired such virtues or qualities as make him, in the eyes of the world, worthy of such a descent. As King Charles's son was yet too young for any opinion to be formed of him, he might assume the young wife's title, while his Majesty could defer for some years making any such declaration as the draft contained. That might be made at any time; and so the King might

* Continuation of the Life of Edward Lord Clarendon.

avoid that which would be "as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit."

What would the moral chancellor have thought of his admonitions, could he have seen visions of Mrs. Palmer, Elizabeth Killegrew, Catharine Peg, Nell Gwyn, Louisa de Querouaille, and Mary Davis?

The King, though he did not concur in all that was said, was not offended. He suspected, from a similarity of arguments used, that Clarendon had conferred with the Queen-dowager, which he denied. His Majesty spoke of conferring with them on the subject; but he never did so. The Queen-dowager afterwards spoke to the chancellor with much warmth, clearly proving she did not like the matter.

The King's feeling was, that there was no reason, since the Countess of Buccleugh brought all the estate, that she should not be elevated by her husband.*

The King signed the declaration, and created his son Duke of Orkney, which title was afterwards changed to that of DUKE of MONMOUTH †, very few dissuading, and the Countess of Wemyss employing all her interest to bring this affair to a conclusion. The Earl of Bristol (who in those difficult cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only way to make the King's friendship valuable. Castlemaine united with him for this end.‡

The form and extent of the honours and titles conferred may come with better grace from the pen of heralds.

* Continuation of the Life of Edward Lord Clarendon.
† Sir Walter Scott's Notes on Dryden's Poem, Heroic Life.
‡ Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

CHAPTER II.

The King confers titles and honours.—Arms of the Duke of Monmouth. —Monmouth accompanies the Duke of York to the first Dutch war.— Marries Anne Countess of Buccleugh. — Royal arms with a baston sinister granted. — Monmouth assumes the name of Scott. — Becomes captain of the Life Guards. — Succeeds Monk, Duke of Albemarle, as captain-general. — Made one of the privy council.— Attains to other honours. — His character given by Grammont. — By Dryden.—Visit of the Duchess of Orleans. — Account of the triple alliance. — Object of the Duchess's visit. — Execrable treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV. — Real and sham Popish plot. — Extract from the treaty. Mr. Hallam's remarks. — Departure and death of the Duchess of Orleans. — Monmouth reported to have been the cause. — Sir John Coventry indulges his wit at the King's expence. — His cruel treatment. — Monmouth directs the outrage. — The Coventry act.— Three dukes kill a beadle. — Lines on this murder. — Monmouth is inspired with ambition. — Dukes of York and Monmouth become rivals. — Monmouth, before this, was patronised by the Duke of York.—Quarrel of Schomberg and Prince Rupert — An amour the cause of. — The quarrel between Monmouth and the Duke of York. — Those who dread the succession of the Duke of York begin to look towards the Duke of Monmouth.—Proposal to the King to own Monmouth as his legitimate son. — A party strive to procure for Monmouth the lieutenancy of Ireland. — Duke of York is alarmed.

His Majesty, taking into consideration his son's virtuous inclinations and pregnant evidences of heroic spirit, as a proper furtherance thereto, was, on February 14th, 1662-3, pleased to create him Baron of Tinedale, in the county of Northumberland, Earl of Doncaster in the county of York, and Duke of Monmouth, with remainder to his heirs-male.*

Also in a chapter of the Order of the Garter held at Whitehall, on March 28th, 1663, his Majesty present, he was elected a knight of the most noble order: and on

* Bill signed, 15 Car. 2. Collins's Peerage.

April 8th, the King signed a warrant directed to Sir Edward Walker, Knight of the Garter, authorising him to prepare and place over his stall at his installation, in such manner as accustomed, in the chapel at Windsor, his arms and achievements, viz. his banner to be quarterly, the *first quarter* ermine, on a pile, gules, three lions of the royal arms of England, passant guadrant, or; — and in the *second* quarter, in a field, or, an escutcheon of France, with a double tressure of Scotland counterfleury, gules; and for the crest, on a chapeau, gules, doubled ermine, a dragon passant, or, gorged with a crown, having a chain, or; and for supporters, on the dexter side, an unicorn, argent, armed, maned and unguled, or, gorged with a crown, gules, and a chain of the same fixed thereto; and on the sinister side, an hart, argent, attired and unguled, or, gorged with a crown, gules, and a chain of the same affixed thereto.*

On September 28. 1663, the degree of A. M. in the university of Oxford was conferred on him as had been before done by that of Cambridge, the King and Queen being at Oxford: the university orator made a speech in high commendation of him.*

His Grace accompanied the Duke of York, the lord high admiral, to the first Dutch war in which for the first time fighting in a line and in a regular form was observed. The English had ninety-eight sail of the line and four fire-ships, which the Dutch fleet, of one hundred and thirteen ships, under the command of Opdam, attacked near Lowestoffe, June 3. 1665. This action was the most glorious hitherto fought by the navy of England. The Dutch lost four admirals, seven

thousand men slain or made prisoners, and eighteen sail burnt or taken. The gallant Opdam blew up in the Eendracht with five hundred men.

The news of this victory came when the Great Plague was pursuing its ravages in the metropolis. The terrors this created absorbed all interest and attention, so that there was no room for joy.

His Grace's marriage with Anne, daughter and sole heir of Francis Scott, Earl of Buccleugh, took place this year; he was also made master of the horse about the same time.

On April 22. 1667, his Majesty signed a warrant to Sir Edward Walker, garter, reciting that though he had commanded him to marshal and set up the arms before mentioned, notwithstanding he is now pleased to alter the same, and declares his will, &c. that his dear son James Duke of Monmouth and Buccleugh shall henceforth bear and use the royal arms, with a baston, sinister, argent, and over all an escutcheon of the arms of the noble family of *Scott*, Earls of Buccleugh, which surname he has also given him.*

After his marriage the Duke of Monmouth took the surname of SCOTT, and he and his lady were created Duke and Duchess of Buccleugh, Earl and Countess of Dalkeith, Baron and Baroness of Whitchester and Ashdale in Scotland, by letters patent dated April 20. 1673.

Lord Gerard, of Brandon, having resigned his post of captain of his Majesty's Life Guards of horse, the Duke of Monmouth was presented by the King in

* Collins. Sir Edward Walker's Hist. Account of the Knights of the Garter, MS. quoted by Collins, who states it is in the possession of John Anstis, lately garter king-at-arms.

Hyde Park, September 29. 1668, with this appointment.*

At the death of George Monk, the great Duke of Albemarle, January 4. 1670, he succeeded him as captain-general of all the King's forces. He was admitted into the privy council, April 25. 1670. After which, he had several other places of honour and profit, as lord-lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, governor of the town and citadel of Kingston-upon-Hull, and chief justice in eyre of all the King's forests, chases, &c., on the south side of the Trent.† The affection of the King was every day more marked, and the Duke of Monmouth was a conspicuous courtier and favourite of the people.

At this period, we may suppose that he was such as has been thus depicted by the pencil of the lively and acute author of the "Mémoires de Grammont."‡

"Sa figure, et les graces extérieures de sa personne, étoient telles que la nature n'a peut-être jamais rien formé de plus accompli. Son visage étoit tout charmant: c'étoit un visage d'homme, rien de fade, rien d'efféminé; cependant chaque trait avoit son agrément, et sa délicatesse particulière. Une disposition merveilleuse pour toutes sortes d'exercices, un abord attrayant, un air de grandeur, enfin tous les avantages du corps parloient pour lui; mais son esprit ne disoit pas un petit mot en sa faveur. Il n'avoit de sentimens que ce qu'on lui en inspiroit; et ceux qui d'abord s'insinuèrent dans sa familiarité prirent soin de ne lui en inspirer que de pernicieux. Cet extérieur éblouissant fut ce qui frappa d'abord. Toutes les bonnes mines de la cour en furent effacées, et toutes les bonnes fortunes à

* Collins, &c. † Collins. ‡ Lodge.

son service. "Il fit les plus chères délices du Roi; mais il fut la terreur universelle des époux et des amants. Cela ne dura pourtant pas: la nature ne lui avoit pas donné tout ce qu'il faut pour s'emparer des cœurs; et le beau sexe s'en apperçut."*

High praises of the Duke's matchless person flowed, as it were, spontaneously from his enemies. His Grace is thus portrayed by Dryden, under the character of Absalom, in his celebrated poem of "Absalom and Achitophel."

> Of all the numerous progeny was none
> So beautiful, so brave, as Absalom:
> * * *
> Early in foreign fields he won renown,
> With kings and states allied to Israel's crown:
> In peace the thoughts of war he could remove,
> And seem'd as he were only borne for love.
> Whate'er he did, was done with so much ease,
> In him alone 'twas natural to please:
> His motions all accompany'd with grace;
> And paradise was open'd in his face.
> With secret joy indulgent David view'd
> His youthful image in his son renew'd:
> To all his wishes nothing he denied,
> And made the charming Annabel his bride:

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* His face and the exterior graces of his person were such, that nature has perhaps never formed any thing more accomplished. His countenance was altogether charming: it was a manly countenance without any thing insipid or effeminate; notwithstanding, each feature had its beauty and peculiar delicacy. A wonderful disposition for all sorts of exercise, an attractive address, an air of greatness, in fine all the personal advantages spoke in his favour; but his mind said not one word for him. He had no sentiments but those which were given him by others; and those who from the first insinuated themselves into his familiar acquaintance, took care to inspire him only with pernicious ones. This dazzling exterior was that which struck at first. All the good looks of those at court were extinguished by his, and all the great matches at his service. He was the King's greatest delight; but he was the universal terror of husbands and lovers. That, however, did not last: nature had not given him all that is required to captivate hearts; and the fair sex perceived it.

> What faults he had, for who from faults is free?
> His father could not, or he would not see.

His address was especially captivating: his words being,

> "More slow than hybla-drops, and far more sweet."

This year is memorable by the visit paid by the Duchess of Orleans to Charles II. her brother, at Dover, May 16. The grand object of this family meeting was to win Charles from the famous TRIPLE ALLIANCE; the Duchess being deputed by Louis XIV. to act as negotiator.

This monarch, from the beginning to the end of his reign, aimed at the acquisition of those large and valuable provinces of the Spanish monarchy which lay contiguous to the eastern frontiers of France. He now pushed on his conquests with scarcely any resistance. Fortress after fortress was taken. Brussels itself was in danger.

Sir W. Temple, after an interview with De Witt, found that Arlington showed no disposition to unite with the Dutch minister against France. But the events which followed the meeting of parliament in the autumn of 1667 produced an entire change in his views. One of the resolutions of the Commons against Clarendon was a censure of the foreign policy of the government as too favourable to France. Temple having been instructed in December, 1667, to ascertain whether the States were willing to enter into a league offensive and defensive against the projects of France, Charles, at a council, January, 1668, declared his intention to unite with the Dutch on their own terms. Sweden acceded, at the request of the Grand Pensionary, to the league, which is known as the Triple Alliance. A general pacification was the result.*

* Essays of the Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay, vol. iii, p. 37.

Charles had doubtless privately agreed with the French king to be utterly unfaithful to his allies; he was now solicited to break off in a public manner, and even to declare war against the Dutch. Charles intended to postpone the declaration of war against his allies the Dutch, till he had made the announcement to the Protestant Great Britain of his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion! The Duchess of Orleans wished him to depart from this intention of postponing the war; and to allow her to separate from her husband, with whom she lived a wretched life, and to reside in England. She departed, however, after a series of grand entertainments at Dover, in which Monmouth participated, and loaded with presents; — Charles did not agree to commence a war at this time.

Let not the reader suppose that this great political visit, made under the specious pretence of a family meeting of a fond brother and sister, terminated without the transaction of business as utterly infamous as it was important.

An execrable treaty between Charles II. and Louis XIV. was signed during the stay of the Duchess of Orleans at Dover, 22d of May 1670.

In any history of these times the Popish Plot must necessarily form a principal feature. The Popish Plot of general history should be distinguished as the *sham plot.* There was really and truly a popish plot in being, though not that which Titus Oates and his associates pretended to reveal. In this plot the King, the Duke of York, and the King of France were chief conspirators; the Romish priests, and especially the Jesuits, were eager co-operators.*

This infamous treaty — a proof of the existence of a

* Hallam's Constitutional History.

real popish plot — was first published by Dr. Lingard, from the original counterpart in the possession of the Lord Clifford of Chudleigh, the descendant of Sir Thomas Clifford. The following extracts, translated from the original, will prove that "there were circumstances, and some of them very singular in their nature, which explain and furnish an apology for the public error, and which it is more important to point out and keep in mind, than to inveigh, as is the custom in modern times, against the factiousness and bigotry of our ancestors."*

The King of Great Britain being *convinced of the truth* of the CATHOLIC RELIGION, and resolved to make a *declaration* of the same, and to reconcile himself with the ROMISH CHURCH as soon as the welfare of his kingdom will permit, has every reason to hope and to promise himself the affection and fidelity of his subjects, that none of them, even of those upon whom God shall not have yet sufficiently shed his grace to dispose them by this august example to be converted, will ever fail in the inviolable obedience that all people owe to their sovereigns even of a contrary religion; nevertheless, as there are sometimes mischievous and unquiet spirits who endeavour to disturb the public tranquillity, principally when they can cover their bad designs with the plausible pretext of religion, his Britannic Majesty, who has nothing more at heart (after his peace of mind) than to strengthen that which the mildness of his government has procured his subjects, believes that the best means of preventing it from being altered, would be to be assured, in case of need, of the assistance of his most Christian Majesty, who desiring in this case to give to his Britannic Majesty indubitable proofs of the sincerity

* Hallam's Constitutional History.

of his friendship, and to contribute to the good success of so glorious a design, so useful to his Britannic Majesty, indeed to all the Catholic religion, has promised, &c. — to pay Charles two millions of livre tournoises, to assist him with troops to the number (if required) of 6000 infantry, which are to land wherever Charles II. shall judge best. —— The two monarchs agreed to make war upon the United States of Holland, and to annul any clauses to be found in any preceding treaties made with other states that may happen to be contrary to those of this secret treaty!!

(Signed) Arlington, Colbert.
T. Arundell,
T. Clifford,
R. Bellings.

"This memorable transaction," remarks Mr. Hallam*, "explains and justifies the strenuous opposition made in parliament to the King and Duke of York, and may be reckoned the first act of a drama which ended in the Revolution. It is true, that the precise terms of this treaty were not authentically known; but there can be no doubt, that those who from this time displayed an insuperable jealousy of one brother, and a determined enmity to the other, had proofs enough for moral conviction of this deep conspiracy with France against religion and liberty. This suspicion is implied in all the conduct of that parliamentary opposition, and is the apology of much that seems violence and faction, especially in the business of the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion."

The Duchess of Orleans took her departure from Dover, June 2., and arrived at St. Germains, June 18.,

* Constitutional Hist. of England.

where she died a few hours after, at 4 A.M. on the 20th. Sir John Reresby writes, that it was thought the cause of the Duchess being poisoned by her husband was, that she had fallen in love with the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace was ever engaged in some amour *, and was "the observed of all observers." The Monmouth or military cock of the hat was much worn, and continued a considerable time in fashion. †

During a debate in the Commons, upon raising money, it was suggested that the frequenters of the theatre should be taxed. Upon an objection being started that the players were the King's servants, and a part of the King's pleasure, Sir John Coventry gave vent to his wit in an inquiry, which was a gross reflection upon the King's amours, as to whether "his Majesty's pleasure lay among the men or the women players?" This expression was much resented at court, where some gallants resolved to punish the insult offered to their sovereign. The Duke of Monmouth sent Sandys, a lieutenant of his troop of guards, O'Brien, the son of Lord Inchiquin, with thirteen men, who lay in wait near Suffolk Street, for Sir John Coventry. The witty member was returning, December 21st, from the House after its adjournment for the Christmas holidays, when the party discovered him. Sir John Coventry defended himself gallantly, and wounded some, when he was at last disarmed, beaten, thrown on the ground, and had his nose cut to the bone to teach him respect to majesty. He was left for dead. The outrage was perpetrated with the connivance of the King, and against the remonstrances of the Duke of York. ‡ Such was the state of personal security in 1670! The Commons

* Ralph. † Granger.
‡ Lingard. See Marvel, Ralph, &c.

were roused by this aggression. It was resolved the first thing after the adjournment, not to proceed with the public business till reparation had been made to the Commons of England for the injury inflicted upon one of their members. An act was passed, banishing for life the four principal offenders, unless they surrendered by February 16th, and rendering them incapable of pardon, except by act of parliament. The maiming or disfiguring of the person was made, for the future, felony without benefit of clergy, by a statute well known as the "Coventry Act."*

The Duke of Monmouth, the real contriver of the outrage, incurred great censure for the attack upon a professed friend. Soon after this, on the night of February 28., in company with Christopher, the young Duke of Albemarle, whom we shall find hereafter to be a rival and enemy, another nobleman of the same rank, and of eight others, the Duke of Monmouth attacked the watch, and killed the beadle of the ward, though the poor man begged for his life. Charles, to save Monmouth, granted a pardon to all the murderers; but both the crime and the pardon were severely censured by the people.†

These violent doings of Absalom, the Duke of Monmouth, are thus alluded to by Dryden —

> Some warm excesses which the law forbore,
> Were construed youth, that purg'd by boiling o'er;
> And Amnon's murder by a specious name
> Was call'd a just revenge for injur'd fame.‡

Whether Amnon here represents the beadle or Sir John Coventry, is doubtful. A wit found matter for

* The affair is commemorated in a satirical ballad, called the "Haymarket Hectors."

† Marvel, i. 195. 416.

‡ Absalom and Achitophel.

verse to be found among the State Poems, headed "On the Three Dukes killing the Beadle on Sunday Morning, February 26. 1671." The extraordinary fondness of the Queen for dancing is satirized.*

> See what mishaps dare even invade Whitehall;
> This silly fellow's death puts off the ball;
> And disappoints the Queen, poor little chuck,
> I warrant 'twould have danc'd it like a duck:
> The fiddler's voices, entries, all the sport,
> And the gay show put off, where the brisk court
> Anticipates in rich subsidy coats,
> All that is got by mercenary votes;
> Yet shall Whitehall, the innocent, the good,
> See these men dance all daub'd with lace and blood.

The Duke of Monmouth was now placed within the vortex where circumstances carry the individual with them, alter his character if already formed; or give it a stamp and complexion that depend not upon the individual himself, but are derived from the position and surrounding objects. The very times and posture of affairs, and his own position, could not fail to inspire him with ambition; and encouraged, if they did not authorize him, to grasp at power by any means, however extravagant.† The King did not check Monmouth's ambition, at least at its first appearance. On the contrary, whether out of affection to an object he had been used to love, or out of policy to form a sort of balance to the power and credit of his brother, whom he certainly feared, we find him indulging the weakness he should have restrained.‡ The Dukes of York and Monmouth became rivals. They were not always such; on the contrary, the elevation of the Duke of Monmouth in military affairs, was owing to the patronage of

* See Sir W. Scott's Notes on Absalom and Achitophel.

† Ralph. ‡ Clark's Life of James II.

the Duke of York, in the usual style of the distribution of court favours.

Monsieur de Schomberg and Prince Rupert, then high in the army, had disagreed; and the former chanlenged the prince. The King prevented a duel, though not out of kindness to either. His Majesty was dissatisfied with Prince Rupert, and De Schomberg's popularity with the country party was disagreeable to Charles. This was the cause of the Duke of Monmouth's advancement, for the Duke of York, esteeming his forwardness and inclination to the war, thought him the fittest person to be set up against De Schomberg, from whom he was now perfectly alienated. The Duke of York recommended Monmouth to be at the head of our military affairs, which he himself hoped still to influence by this means. De Schomberg left in disgust at being refused the garter. Thus all things concurred with the Duke of Monmouth's ambition, so soon as Prince Rupert was out of favour and the Duke of York incapacitated by reason of the late test against the Roman Catholics.*

The Duke of Monmouth, when young, accompanied the Duke of York to the Dutch war; and James owned that he had a real kindness for Monmouth, till he came at last to be convinced of treacherous designs. James writes that he ever after lived fairly with Monmouth, as he did with all those for whom the King had a kindness; and that he bore patiently what he could not hinder, and carried fair even to Monmouth himself, for whom the King was then in the highest of his affection.†

An odd accident, which Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, relates, furnishes that nobleman with an

* Memoirs of John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

† Clarke's James II.

opportunity of pointing out the great uncertainty of court affairs, as well as the ignorance of those who write of them; very generally attributing to prudence or providence what is often nothing else but humour, love, or jealousy.

The Duke of Monmouth, ever engaged in some amour, became incensed against Sheffield for an unlucky discovery that made too much noise at court. This referred to the inconstancy of a mistress of the Dukes of York and Monmouth, in favour of Sheffield. The writer allows that Monmouth had always great temper, and therefore offered no affront on the spot; but the duke resented the affair, and prevented Sheffield from having the first regiment of foot-guards. This nobleman, on the other hand, takes no small credit—it may even be said glories—in his own ingenuity, in involving the Duke of York in his own private quarrel, by infusing suspicion in James's breast.*

Thus a court intrigue was the original cause of such a division between James and Monmouth, which laid the foundation of that difference which was one great means of embittering the latter days of Charles's reign.

It was in the year 1670, when Monmouth was twenty-one years of age, that parties looked towards him as one calculated to play an important part in the political drama. The queen having no offspring, nor being likely to give the country an heir, gloomy expectations for the future succession of the Duke of York began to be entertained. Buckingham, observing the unbounded affection of the King for the young Duke of Monmouth, resolved to set him up as a competitor for the crown in opposition to the Duke of York. It was confidently

whispered at court, that Charles intended to own him for his successor, and the Earl of Carlisle and Lord Ashley ventured to hint to the King, that if he were willing to acknowledge a private contract of marriage with the mother of Monmouth, it would not be difficult to procure witnesses who would confirm it with their testimony. The monarch replied without hesitation, that, "much as he loved the duke, he had rather see him hanged at Tyburn than own him for his legitimate son." *

Notwithstanding this, a party now adopt the Duke of Monmouth as their own, and in 1671 attempt to procure for him the Lieutenancy of Ireland, to advance him as high in power as in opinion, in the room of the Earl of Essex. The Duchess of Portsmouth and the Lord Treasurer Danby were advocates with the King in favour of the Duke, who was strongly disposed to gratify him. Ralph accounts for the intercession of these courtiers, because the attachment or connection of the duke to the party was not then, perhaps, understood. The Duke of York was alarmed, and apprehended the setting up of the Duke of Monmouth against him, if he became master of the whole power of Ireland to employ it in support of his pretensions. The Duke of York made a plea of the merit and services of the Duke of Ormond, and got him taken again into favour. †

* Lingard, who quotes Clarke's Life of James, i. 437. 490.; Macpherson, i. 44.; Burnet, i. 452.

† Ralph.

CHAPTER III.

Second Dutch war agreed to by Charles II. and Louis XIV. — Shutting the exchequer, and suspension of penal laws against Dissenters. — Monmouth marches at the head of six thousand volunteers to join Louis. — Council of war. — Orsoi, Rhineberg, Wesel, &c. fall to the French monarch. — Dutch lay their country under water. — Monmouth returns to London. — Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, praised by Monmouth. — Is well received by the French monarch, who presents him with a sword. — His Grace returns to England. — Again sets out for France. — As lieutenant-general draws up the army for a review by the King of France. — Maestricht is besieged. — Siege. — Valour of Monmouth at the Half-Moon. — Louis highly praises Monmouth. — The Duchess gives birth to a daughter. — Monmouth made chancellor of the University of Cambridge. — Restrains innovations of the clergy, who wear their hair and perriwigs too long, and read their sermons. — Remarks. — Nation becomes alarmed for the safety of the Protestant religion. — Precautionary measures taken against Papists. — A party look to Monmouth, and style him the "Protestant Duke." — Peace with the Dutch. — Monmouth begs the office of commander-in-chief. — James Duke of York remonstrates. — Circumstances respecting the omission of the word "natural" in the patent. — Sheffield's account of the appointment. — The times create a Luzancy, the prototype of Titus Oates. — Monmouth appointed to the lord-lieutenancy of Stafford. — Louis XIV. takes Metz and Ghent. — General cry in England for war. — Monmouth marches against his former friends the French. — Battle of St. Denis after the treaty of peace had been signed. — Popish plot. — The Duke of Monmouth recommended to take care of Titus Oates. — Visits Somerset House to investigate the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey. — His Grace's cook accuses the queen. — His footmen talk of the Duke of Monmouth's legitimacy — Proposal of Colonel Birch to admit of the truth of the King's marriage to Monmouth's mother. — Shaftesbury moves that the Duke of York be removed from public affairs. — Dissolution of parliament. — Danby advises Charles II. to send the Duke of York abroad. — The King declares he never married any woman but the Queen. — The Duke of York retires to Brussels. — Declaration of the Commons. — Sir W. Temple advises Charles to remodel the privy council. — Power of Monmouth and Shaftesbury in the House of Commons.

THE iniquitous second Dutch war was agreed to by the kings of England and France in 1671. The latter

complained of many insults he had suffered from the states of Holland. Charles pretended the breach of treaty with respect to the regulation of commerce in the East Indies; the perfidious detention of English traders in Surinam, and the refusal of the Dutch to strike to the English flag in the narrow seas. The shutting of the exchequer, by which a loss of more than 1,200,000*l.* was sustained by the public, and a declaration of the suspension of penal laws against dissenters, were measures adopted to further the objects of Charles. The Dutch had suspected that Charles was the secret ally of the French king, which was known to be the case in 1672.

Louis placed himself at the head of more than 100,000 men, and, assisted by Condé and Turenne, commenced the campaign. The Duke of Monmouth marched to Charleroi at the head of 6000 British soldiers, to join the French army, and the French king arrived there, May 1.

In a council of war Louis held with the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Orleans, and the great Condé, it was resolved to blockade Maestricht with 20,000 men, and march with the rest of the army upon the Rhine. Condé decamped on May 21., and Louis, with Monmouth and the rest of the army, followed, May 27. June 1. they sat down before the fortresses of Orsoi and Rhineberg, garrisoned with 700 and 1000 men. These surrendered June 6. Wesel, accounted impregnable, surrendered after four days siege, and also Burick.

The celebrated passage of the Rhine, in the face of the enemy, took place near Schenck. Arnheim, Naerden, Utrecht, Daventer, Zutphen, and Nimeguen submitted to Louis, who, after great debates at Paris, as to

the most proper title, was henceforward styled *Le Grand.* The Dutch republic appeared lost. The French and English armies were in the vicinity of Amsterdam, and held three of their seven provinces.

Circumstances induced Charles to view the successes of Louis with regret or alarm. The Duke of Monmouth, with Buckingham, Arlington, and Savile, now Lord Halifax, were plenipotentiaries. The three latter, after having assured the states at the Hague of the pacific disposition of their sovereign, hastened to the camp of the French monarch at Heeswick. There, in union with the Duke of Monmouth, they signed a new treaty, binding the kings of England and France to act in concert, and never conclude a peace but with joint consent. Each king had separate demands, which the states rejected, and opened their dikes, and placed their country under water. By this dreadful expedient they arrested the further progress of the French arms. The De Witts having fallen victims of the mob, the Prince of Orange directed the national efforts to free the country from the invaders.*

Louis parted from Monmouth July 26. When the latter returned through Flanders to London, James II., or his biographer, remarks, that having gained reputation, he cared not much for the fatigues of war — the pleasures of a court being more agreeable.

John Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough), after serving against the Moors at Tangier, accompanied the Duke of Monmouth in this campaign. The latter, with a generosity that appears natural to his disposition, insisted that he was indebted for half the laurels which he reaped on this occasion to the personal gallantry of his friend Churchill.†

* Histories of England, Lingard, &c.

† Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England.

The Duchess of Monmouth was confined of a son August 26., who was baptized by the Archbishop of Canterbury by the name of Charles: the King and the Duke of York stood godfathers; the Countess of Wemyss godmother.*

The Duke of Monmouth returned to France in November of the same year (1672); and from Calais sent an express to Louis, to inform him that the Prince of Orange had set down before Charleroi, from which he decamped, November 22.

On the Duke's journey to St. Germain's, to visit the French king, his Grace was treated with great honour, as the English Gazette, Jan. 6. 1673, magnificently describes. At Montreuil, the Duke d'Elbeuf, the governor, sent his coaches to meet him; and at the other fortresses on the road every possible honour was shown him. After remaining a few days at Paris, his Grace went to St. Germain's, and then returned to England.†

A sword ornamented with diamonds, worth 38,190 livres, was presented by Louis to the Duke of Monmouth, January 31. 1673.‡

The Duke again reached Calais, April 14. 1673, and was received with the greatest distinction. His Grace proceeded to court, where the French monarch, upon his arrival, made him, now in his twenty-fourth year, lieutenant-general, and granted an honourable allowance towards defraying the expenses of his appointment. His Grace's want of military experience was supplied by the counsels of Montal. About April 27. the Duke set out for Paris, attended by a gallant suite,

* Heroic Life of Monmouth. † Ibid.

‡ Presents made by Louis XIV., published by M. de Barrière.

to Amiens and Doulens; at which latter place the keys of the town were placed in his hands at night — the highest compliment that could have been paid him. From Lille the duke proceeded to Courtrai, where the French king lay, by whom he was graciously received.

The next day the Duke entered upon his duties as lieutenant-general, and drew up his army for a grand review, in the presence of the King and Queen of France, and the principal nobility of that country.

His Grace marched towards the seat of war at the head of the infantry, particularly attracting the admiration of the French monarch. Louis (after a succession of marches and countermarches, undertaken to mask his real object) sent on a party to Maestricht, June 1st. The army sat down before this place, defended by a garrison of 10,000 men, and quite blocked it up, June 6. Louis arrived before it, June 11. The Duke of Monmouth waited upon the King, when his Majesty went to view the lines of circumvallation, and made a bridge of communication over the Maes, above and below. His Grace commanded 8,000 men. The trenches were opened June 17. On June 20. his Grace commanded the watch in the trenches. The firing was very sharp, still his Grace advanced within thirty rods of the counterscarp. June 24. the counterscarp was stormed in three places. The Duke of Orleans made a false attack. On the Duke of Monmouth's side, the King's regiment of foot, commanded by M. de Montbrun, and the King's musketeers, made the first onset. Louis stood to see the whole action. In the midst of the firing, the Duke of Monmouth won the counterscarp, and advancing against the half-moon in front of the Brussels gate, his Grace carried that also, notwithstanding the besieged fired two mines. Monmouth made a lodgment on the

half-moon, while the besieged re-entrenched themselves inside, intending to produce great effects by means of a mine which they had sprung. The man who was about to fire it was killed by one of his Grace's servants near his own person.

The men who relieved the duke's party were suddenly alarmed by the blowing-up of a captain, ensign, and sixty soldiers by another mine. The besieged, upon the success of this mine, made a furious sortie, and not only drove the besiegers from the half-moon, but the counter-scarp also.

The Duke of Monmouth, unwilling to lose what he had but the day before purchased with so much hazard, accompanied by only twelve volunteers, leaped over the trench, and with almost incredible speed passed through a sally-port of the enemy. Within twenty yards of their pallisades the Duke met the soldiers flying, not being able to resist the party who made the sortie. His Grace's presence inspired them with new valour: they turned and beat back the party, and once more took the half-moon, the Duke of Monmouth being the first that entered it.

Among the slain was Sir Henry Jones, colonel of the English regiment of light horse, who waited on his Grace as volunteer. The King gave the Duke his regiment.

The Duke of Monmouth had other opportunities of displaying his valour at this siege in sight of the King of France, who stood on a hill at a little distance, till July 2., when this fortress surrendered. The Count d'Estrades was made governor.

On July 12. the army marched from Maestricht to Chatelet, between Namur and Charleroi, where they arrived July 14. The Duke of Monmouth soon after

took leave of the King of France, who declared himself infinitely pleased with his conduct, and arrived at Calais July 21., where his reception was one of extraordinary honour and attention. He sailed the same day in a royal yacht, and arrived at Whitehall July 23. The King and court hailed the Duke's return in a manner answerable to his achievements.

All agree in according the merit of great personal courage to the Duke. Louis wrote to Charles in high commendation of his son's conduct. "I ought not," wrote the King, "to forget to mention that the day after, the besieged having made a sortie upon the half-moon by means of a small mine (*fourneau*), the Duke attacked them sword in hand upon the first alarm of the sortie, and dislodged them."* In the King's journal of the siege appears the following sentence, which Dr. Lingard receives as proof that the former quotation was not one of mere compliment. "The Duke of Monmouth acquired, at the head of the musketeers, a great reputation."†

A cotemporary and enemy thus detracts from the duke's merits:—"Just at this time the Duke of Monmouth was setting up in France to be a soldier; and being so favoured at Maestricht by the French king as to have a sure and easy attack, kept back on purpose till his day came of commanding: the credit here of that action (though only a noble sort of present, from that prince's generosity and friendship for his father) sufficed to give him a reputation ever after."‡

January 10. 1674, the Duchess of Monmouth gave birth to a daughter, who was christened by the name of

* Louis, iii. 412. † Ibid., iii. 375.

‡ Works of Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normandy, and Duke of Buckingham, 2 vols. 1729. Memoirs.

Catherina Laura. The Duke of York stood as godfather, the Lady Mary and the Lady Anne as godmothers.*

The Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge being vacant upon the resignation of the Duke of Buckingham, his Majesty, by his royal letters, recommended the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace was unanimously elected chancellor, July 15., and was installed at Worcester House, September 3., where he magnificently banqueted three hundred members of that university.†

The Duke's name appears in a list of persons as having received 6000*l.* per annum since May 17., 1673.‡

The second marriage of the Duke of York with Maria d'Este, the sister of the reigning Duke of Modena, in 1673, excited the religious antipathies of the people to such a degree that Charles became alarmed. He refused the Duchess the use of a public chapel, which had been previously stipulated; ordered the officers of the household to prevent all Catholics, or reputed Catholics, from entering the palace, or coming into the royal presence: he forbad, by an order of council, any popish recusant to walk in the park, or visit at St. James's; and he instructed the judges to enforce with rigour the execution of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics.§ When the parliament addressed the King, January 12. 1674, he returned a gracious and satisfactory answer to their desire to enjoin a public fast that the whole nation might implore the protection of the Almighty for the preservation of church and state against the undermining

* Heroic Life, &c.
† Ibid., &c. Collins.
‡ Ayscough MS., British Museum, 389. 159.
§ Lingard, xii. 38.

practices of popish recusants; to command all papists, not householders, to remove to the distance of ten miles from the capital during the sitting of parliament; to order that the names of all popish householders within the distance of five miles should be enrolled at the sessions; and to direct the militia of London, Westminster, and Middlesex to be ready at an hour's notice, and the militia of the country at a day's notice, to suppress any tumultuous meetings of papists or other discontented persons. The Duke of York told the French envoy, August 1. 1673, that he was afraid of being excluded from the succession.* The leaders of the party were now supposed to act under the guidance of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and to look to the Duke of Monmouth as presumptive heir to the throne. His Grace began to be styled "the Protestant Duke."

Charles concluded a peace with the Dutch in February 1674. Louis assisted the English king to enable him to prorogue the parliament for five months in August of the same year.

By the advice of the enemies of the Duke of York, Monmouth begged of Charles the appointment of commander-in-chief, which had been abolished at the death of Monk, as an office dangerous to be placed in the hands of a subject. James was alarmed, and remonstrated against the measure; but the King, from affection, refused to listen to his arguments, and the patent was engrossed.

The Duke of York sent for Sir William Jones, the attorney-general, who was to draw the commission, and put him in mind that according to law the word *natural* should be inserted. Sir William, though the warrant brought to him had not this word, drew the patent in-

* Dalrymple, ii. App. 98.

troducing the word *natural* in compliance with the Duke of York's wish. The latter for greater security charged Sir Joseph Williamson, the secretary of state, through whose hands the commission was to pass, to let him see it before he brought it to the King to be signed. Notwithstanding this request, some few days after, just as the King was rising from the cabinet council, Sir Joseph laid before his Majesty several commissions to be signed. The Duke of York stayed behind while the King went to walk in the privy garden, and found one of the commissions was for the Duke of Monmouth's generalship, without the word natural, which had been scraped out in every place where it had been written. The Duke reproached Sir Joseph Williamson for his breach of promise towards, and want of respect to him, who made a shuffling insignificant excuse. The Duke took the commission and carried it immediately to the King, who was then walking in the garden, and complained of the secretary's conduct. Charles took out his scissors, cut the document in two, and ordered another to be prepared for him to sign with the word *natural* in it. James pressed to have the secretary punished. Upon examination of the matter, it came out that the Duke of Monmouth had taken his own secretary, Vernon, to Sir Joseph Williamson's office to see the commission, and had made him erase the obnoxious word in his presence. This was a time, writes James II., in which Monmouth's ambition, and the King's favour towards him, were both at their height. Still his advisers were not satisfied. They instructed Monmouth to ask also for the command of the Scottish army, the levy of which they attributed to views hostile to the liberties of England. The King, with his usual facility, granted the request, but Lauderdale refused to draw the commission for Scotland

otherwise than *during pleasure*, not for life, and with the word *natural* in it.*

Sheffield Duke of Buckingham in his Memoirs says, "The first step of the Duke of Monmouth's rising to authority in the army was his being entrusted with the care, though not the command of it; which the Lord Arlington assented to (notwithstanding in France 'tis a part of his province as chief secretary of state), both in friendship to him, and for his own ease, since it saved him the trouble of such affairs, without diminution either to his power or profit; since all commissions still pass through the secretary's hands, and only orders now through the Duke's. The second advance he made was the King sending his commands to every colonel that they should obey all directions which came from the Duke of Monmouth. This wanted but the formality of a commission to make him an absolute general; and yet even thus far the Duke of York assisted him, so blinded he was by his fondness of either husband or wife, or rather, I think, of both together."

Colonel Mackinnon states that he has found the commission as cut by Charles II. in the State-paper Office.†

While holding the office of chancellor, his Grace had to restrain the growth of recent innovations which had been noticed by his Majesty as a liberty taken by the clergy — (these habits the Duke was to cause them to disuse) — the wearing their hair and perriwigs of an unusual and unbecoming length, and the practice of *reading sermons*.‡

* Clarke's Life of James. † History of the Coldstream Guards.

‡ Ayscough MS., 4162—66. The words after "exercise" are from the statute book of Cambridge, quoted by the Rev. W. Gresley, in his Ecclesiastes Anglicanus, &c., p. 78.

The latter offence, which might now be alleged as a charge applicable to the whole of the Church of England clergy, with but few exceptions, is thus curiously set forth with the King's views upon the subject. His Grace tells the vice-chancellor, October 8. 1674, that "his Majesty was informed that the practice of *reading sermons* is generally taken up by the preachers before the university, and there for some time continued, even before himself; his Majesty has commanded me to signify his pleasure that the said practice which took beginning with the disorders of the late times be wholly laid aside; and that they deliver their sermons both in Latin and English by memory, or without book, as being a way of preaching which his Majesty judges most agreeable to the use of the foreign churches, and to the custom of the university heretofore, and to the nature and intendment of that holy exercise.

"And that his Majesty's commands in these premises be duly regarded and observed, his further pleasure is that the names of all such ecclesiastical persons as shall continue the present supine and slothful way of preaching be, from time to time, signified to him by the vice-chancellor for the time being, on pain of his Majesty's displeasure."

Are there not many who have considered the opposite practice puritanical, and the reading of the sermon an orthodox mode? It does not appear that the reproof had the desired effect.

Dr. Westphaling preached before Queen Elizabeth at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, at such an unreasonable length, that her Majesty sent to him "to make an end of his discourse without delay." The Doctor went on for half an hour more. Being called to account for his presumption, he replied, that having committed it all to

memory, he found it impossible to omit any part in order to shorten it, lest he should put himself so entirely out of cue that he should forget the rest, and so be brought to shame before the university and the court.* Bishop Patrick's objection to being made king's chaplain in 1671, was "the finding it very difficult to get a sermon without book."

Illustrious men of genius, it is well known, show that they are such by being in advance of others, and of the age in which they live. They throw into the shade many of infinite merit who have toiled and worn themselves out in pursuing and nearly attaining what the others afterwards reach, and justly claim as their own to all posterity. Many great discoveries are long upon the point of being made; the time has nearly arrived, when the additional knowledge required shines forth and the discovery is complete. Great political characters have their prototypes, men who were a little too early for the time, or who somewhat anticipated the development of events. There were brave men before Agamemnon, and poets before Homer.

These remarks serve to introduce a remarkable terrorist to the reader's notice — one who was a prototype of no less than the incomparable Titus Oates. Luzancy, the son of a French actress, finding what the state of men's minds was from the conversation of the frequenters of coffee-houses, artfully interested the political leaders by a statement of his having been visited, after his conversion to the Protestant faith, July 1., by Father St. Germain, who held a poniard to his breast and made him recant. Lord Holles communicated the intelligence to the King, Lord Russell to the House of Commons. The

* Miss Agnes Strickland's Life of Queen Elizabeth, p. 271.

parliament, the court, the city, and the country resounded with cries of astonishment at the insolence of the papists. "The King published a proclamation for the arrest of St. Germain; the lords brought in a bill for the encouragement of monks and friars in foreign parts to leave their convents, and embrace the reformed faith: and the commons ordered the lord chief justice to issue his warrants for the apprehension of all Catholic priests, recommended Luzancy to the protection and bounty of the King, and passed a bill for the exclusion of papists from the two houses of parliament, and from the court." *

The Duke of Monmouth was greatly instrumental in extinguishing a dreadful fire in Southwark, by blowing up houses, &c.; the King went down the river in his barge to witness the conflagration, May 27. 1676. His Grace was constituted lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Stafford, and of the town and county of Stafford, March 24. 1677.†

On January 9. 1678, Louis proceeded to Metz, and Ghent being the object of that monarch's campaign, capitulated February 27. Ypres fell soon after. The reduction of Ghent called forth a general cry for war in England. The Duke of Monmouth was immediately sent over with some of the guards.

A particular relation how Charles, urged by his parliament, entered upon negotiations with his nephew the Prince of Orange, unfriendly to his former ally, the King of France, is not within the scope of this work. Four thousand men, under the command of the Earl of Ossory, joined the English regiments already in Flanders; a like number were about to sail under the command of the

* Lingard, xii. 71., who quotes Commons Journals, &c.

† Heroic Life, &c. Collins's Peerage.

Duke of York, July 16. Temple concluded a treaty at the Hague, that unless France should recede from its new pretensions in favour of Sweden, within fourteen days, the two powers should unite their forces to compel the acceptance of the proposals formerly made by the king of England, or such other conditions as the success of the confederates might entitle them to demand.* These matters were discussed at Nimeguen, and a treaty of peace was signed at that place, July 31. It is the battle that ensued after the signing of the treaty of peace, which claims our attention.

Louis held Ghent, the cause of so much alarm, and laid siege to Mons, which suffered from want of provisions. The confederates desired him to raise the siege. The Earl of Ossory marched out of the Hague July 14.; the Prince of Orange followed him towards the camp, and soon after the Duke of Monmouth, the lord-general of the King's forces in Flanders. July 29. his Grace arrived at Ostend, whence he set out to visit Nieuport to inspect the English troops there. Orders were issued for several battalions to follow the Duke to the camp, whither his Grace set out the next morning. The Duke of Monmouth arrived August 9. at the camp before Mons, the most important of the few fortresses that remained in the hands of the Spaniards. This was closely blockaded by the French army under the Duke of Luxemburg, who held in front of his camp two fortified positions, St. Denis and the ruins of a fortress.

The Duke of Monmouth arrived so as to dine in the field with the Prince of Orange just before his troops (without waiting for 8000 British auxiliaries) marched to the attack of the Duke of Monmouth's former friends, the French.

* Lingard, who quotes Temple, &c., xii. 124.

The Prince of Orange's forces carried after an obstinate struggle St. Denis; the Duke of Villa Hermosa, the other position. The Duke of Monmouth behaved with great bravery in this sanguinary battle, which lasted from two till nine P. M. But for the desperate resistance made by the English auxiliaries present on one occasion, the French would have won the battle. The latter drove out the Spaniards from their position, pursued them across the plain, and would have cut off the retreat of the Dutch from St. Denis. The night found the armies in their former positions.

Five thousand men fell in the battle of St. Denis, after the treaty of peace was signed. Louis XIV. and James II. were positive in their belief that the Prince of Orange knew of the conclusion of the peace: the latter says the prince had the treaty in his pocket. The Duke of Luxemburg announced his receipt of the treaty to the prince the next morning. Various motives have been assigned for this alleged ill conduct of the Prince of Orange, the determination of which belongs to general history.—This concludes the Duke of Monmouth's services on the Continent.

The year 1678 is memorable for the popish plot—the false plot of Titus Oates and other perjured witnesses, who accommodated their revelations to the spirit of the times. Sir W. Temple who had seen the abolition of monarchy, the dissolution of the Long Parliament, the fall of the Protectorate, and the declaration of Monk against the Rump, writes, "I never saw greater disturbances in men's minds than had been raised by the plot, and the pursuit of it in Parliament; it was generally believed by both houses, by city and country, by clergy and laity." A strong faith in the plot was the test of all political merit. All the disaffection which had

been generated by eighteen years of misgovernment had come to the birth together.* After the mysterious death of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, October 12. the Duke of Monmouth as lord-general was recommended by the House of Lords to take care of the safety of the person of Titus Oates. His Grace visited Somerset House, then the Queen's Palace, to have the room pointed out to him by Bedloe in which Sir Edmundbury Godfrey had been murdered. This Bedloe gave evidence of a plot for killing the King at Newmarket, and that one Keins was to kill the Duke of Monmouth.† The nation was thrown into a panic. Many persons were unable to resist the phrenzy that prevailed, and fancied they had valuable evidence to communicate. One Buse, the Duke of Monmouth's cook, got up an accusation in the fashion of the time against the Queen. He informed the secret committee, that being at Windsor, he heard one Hankinson, who had belonged to the Queen's chapel, desire Antonio, the Queen's confessor's servant, to have a care of the four Irishmen he had brought with him, who he said would do the business for them. The committee had slighted it; but it being again sworn before the recorder, Antonio was examined, and though he denied any such words, was committed for high treason.‡

The Duke of Monmouth's own footmen now began to talk publicly of the witness that could prove the King's marriage with his Grace's mother. Col. Birch, a great leader in the House of Commons, made no mystery of it, but proposed it with other expedients to the lord treasurer, telling him it was in his power to bring that about which would make the kingdom happy, and endear his memory for ever to it; but the treasurer told

* Right. Hon. T. B. Macaulay, Review of Life of Sir W. Temple.
† Ralph. ‡ Memoirs of James II. by Clarke, vol. i. 561.

him the King abhorred the owning such an untruth. This Lord Treasurer Montague was soon impeached for having private meetings abroad with the pope's nuncio: and Prance, Dugdale, Dangerfield, and others, were used as informers; their object, James II. says, was the weekly pension allowed to them, they being indigent wretches.*

When the country was in this state of phrenzied excitement, the presumptive heir to the crown, the Duke of York, grew every day more and more obnoxious to the public; and rather endeavoured to secure his power than recover his popularity. A faction was already formed against the court, which had great strength in itself and much credit with the people. This opposition party paid their court to the Duke of Monmouth, who thought it to be for his interest, as well as for his reputation, to be at their head. Thus qualified, circumstanced, and favoured, a wiser man than he might have dreamt of a throne, and waked on a precipice.† Lord Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords, November 2. that the Duke of York be removed from all councils and public affairs. The opposition commissioned the Duke of Monmouth to acquaint the King, that they would supply him with any sum of money he might require, if he would lay aside the Lord Treasurer Danby.‡ When the intense excitement occasioned by the alarms about popery, which had gone on increasing till the plot brought them to their height, had extended to the most remote parts of the kingdom, the parliament was dissolved January 24. 1679, after having sat for eighteen years. The result of the election was the return of members breathing vengeance against the Roman Catholics, and against

* Clarke's Life of James II. † Ralph.
‡ Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.

the administration which they deemed favourable to that body.

In this posture of affairs, Danby prevailed upon the King to advise the Duke of York to yield to the storm, and retire to Brussels. This prince understood the extent of the fury that had been excited against him, and was willing to leave the kingdom; but solicited two favours:—that the King should sign an order for him to quit the realm, so as to escape the imputation of cowardice in withdrawing from the storm, and make a solemn promise not to sacrifice his rights to the claims of the Duke of Monmouth. It was now currently reported that the latter had four witnesses to prove a contract of marriage between the King and his mother.

The order to quit the realm was given in the form of a most affectionate letter*; the declaration was as follows:—"There being a false and malicious report industriously spread abroad by some who are neither friends to me, nor the Duke of Monmouth, as if I should have been either contracted or married to his mother; and though I am most confident that this idle story cannot have any effect in this age, yet I thought it my duty, in relation to the true succession of the crown, and that future ages may not have any pretence to give disturbance upon that score, or any other of this nature, to declare, as I do here declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I never was married, nor gave contract to any woman whatsoever, but to my wife, Queen Catherine, to whom I am now married. In witness whereof I sett my hand, at Whitehall, the sixth of January, $167\frac{8}{9}$."

"CHARLES R."

Lingard, xii. 175.

For the better preservation of this document, it was enrolled in chancery, June 15. of the same year.*

The Duke of York, accompanied by his duchess, departed for Brussels, March 4., two days before the opening of parliament, leaving his daughter Anne under the King's care. The absence of James left the field open to Monmouth and his party, who were occupied in the contest with the King respecting the prosecution of Danby, which minister was supposed to know all the secret negotiations with France. The two houses of parliament appeared to contend in the race of orthodoxy and loyalty. Both houses again declared that there had existed, and did exist, a horrid and treasonable conspiracy, contrived by those of the popish religion, for the murdering of the King, the subverting of Protestantism, and the ruin of the ancient government of the kingdom; and the more to inflame the passions of the people, it was ordered that this vote should be prefixed to the public form of prayer appointed to be read on the day of the national fast. † Little did the passers of this vote know of Charles's religion or connection with France, and of his treaty for the introduction of French arms to reduce the country to obedience, if resisting the change of religion. The articles of impeachment against the Catholic lords in the Tower were forwarded by the hands of Lord Russell to the House of Lords.

The great affection the King appeared to entertain for the Duke of Monmouth was remarked by Sir William Temple, on his return from Nimeguen; and this politician fancied he saw plainly the use his Grace intended

* Rose's Observations upon Fox's History, Appendix lix., with the attestations of many members of the privy council.

† Lingard, xii. 182.

to make of it, in case he could introduce a ministry at his own devotion, or in his interests, to sacrifice the Duke of York, his children, and the Prince of Orange, to his ambitious views. The affair involved, or might do so, the very succession to the crown; so Sir W. Temple resolved "to break the growth of that ministry," the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Shaftesbury being at the head of affairs, and the King in the hands of the Duke of Monmouth, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and Lord Sunderland. He could not, however, see any individuals whom he could recommend as likely to satisfy or really benefit the King. The ministry could not support themselves. This caused Sir W. Temple to think of an expedient, which he planned with the King without the knowledge of the Duke of Monmouth, though so high in favour. This was a remodelling of the privy council,—one of the great riddles of English history. It is believed that under colour of a change of administration, nothing less than a permanent change in the constitution was designed.* The number of the new council was thirty. The King himself proposed Lord Shaftesbury as president of the council, hoping by such distinction to win that great political character into good behaviour towards the court.

In a few hours after it was organised, 21st April, 1679, a secret committee or cabinet of nine members was formed. But as this committee included Shaftesbury and Monmouth, it has been considered to contain within itself the elements of as much faction as would have sufficed to impede all business.* The King acquainted both houses "that he had made choice of such

* Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, M. P.: Essay upon Sir W. Temple's Life.

persons as were worthy and able to advise him, and was resolved in all his weighty and important affairs to be advised by them." When all was arranged, the King thought fit to tell the Duke of Monmouth the night before the change was made. Great manifestations of joy followed the announcement made to the two houses of parliament by the King. The Duke of York, from Brussels, foretold the downfall of the monarchy, or the horrors of civil war. Necessity alone had caused Charles to adopt this measure. The hostility of Shaftesbury, however, was not mitigated: his power was greatly increased. His good fortune was attributed to the favour of the Duke of Monmouth, who was supposed to have that weight with the King, which had before been assigned to the Duke of York. Monmouth and Shaftesbury had the greatest interest in the House of Commons, who rejected all the expedients that were offered, being of opinion there could be no security against the Duke of York if once in possession of the crown.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1679.

Shaftesbury persuades the popular party that Charles II. would consent to the exclusion of the Duke of York. — Alarm of the landing of the French. — Exclusion bill passes the Commons. — King is persuaded to prorogue the parliament. — Anger of Shaftesbury, and his threats. — King dissolves the parliament. — Scene at the council. — Connection of Shaftesbury and Monmouth considered. — Memoir of Shaftesbury. — Mention of the Duchess of Monmouth. — Outbreak of the Scotch Covenanters. — Monmouth's incredible expedition to arrive in Scotland. — Battle of Bothwell Bridge. — Monmouth's kindness. — Is well received on his return. — Is addressed by the title of Highness. — Essex, Halifax, Monmouth, and Shaftesbury meet. — Dissolution, and call of a new parliament. — The Duke of York desires to return from Brussels. — King taken ill. — Monmouth's request. — Meeting at the Duchess of Portsmouth's. — King invites James to return. — Offer of reconciliation with the Duke of York refused by Monmouth. — It is determined that the Duke of York shall return to Brussels. — Reasons for the Duchess of Portsmouth's conduct. — The King's affections alienated from Monmouth. — Intrigues. — Monmouth directed to lay down his office of lord-general, and go upon the Continent. — His party advise him to obey. — Inflated language of the Broad Sheets. — Monmouth reaches Holland. — Converses with the Prince of Orange. — James has permission to reside in Edinburgh. — Stops on his way and visits the court. — Result of elections unfavourable to the court. — Parliament is prorogued. — Charles agrees to become a pensioner of France. — Conditions displease.

If there was a point about which Charles II. really entertained a scruple of conscience or of honour, that point was the descent of the crown. Yet he was willing to consent to the Exclusion Bill for 600,000*l.*; and the negotiation was broken off only because he insisted upon being paid beforehand.*

Shaftesbury had little difficulty in persuading the popular party that Charles was not unwilling to concede the exclusion of his brother, but that he would rather

* Critical and Historical Essays, by T. B. Macaulay, ii. 238.

have it appear to be extorted from him by the importunity of the House, than to be offered spontaneously by himself.* Measures were accordingly taken for excluding the Duke of York from the succession to the crown. Alarms of an intended descent of a French army, under the command of the Duke of York, upon the shores of England, were spread, and of the King's life being daily in the most imminent danger at the hands of the papists.

It was of course not known to those who felt such anxiety for the King's personal security that a treaty had been made by Charles with the French monarch, to introduce French arms to beat down all opposition to the establishing the Roman Catholic religion, which the King of England had adopted.

The famous Exclusion Bill passed the Commons at its second reading, by a majority of seventy-nine, May 21. Shaftesbury is believed to have now governed Monmouth. His aim appears to have been to create embarrassment and confusion, that the King might be compelled to accede to his favourite measure, and place himself and the Duke of Monmouth at the head of the administration. The inner cabinet of the new Privy Council, Lord Essex, Sunderland, Halifax, and Sir W. Temple, in order to prevent some new remonstrance of the Commons upon the points of the plot and growth of popery, prevailed upon the King to prorogue the parliament, May 27., for ten weeks. The popular party were taken by surprise. Shaftesbury declared before he left the house, that the advisers of the prorogation should pay for their presumption with their heads.†

Sir W. Temple writes that Monmouth was greater

* Temple, ii. 498. Lingard.
† Temple, Reresby, Lingard, &c.

than ever, and Shaftesbury reckoned upon being so too, on the meeting of parliament, at the cost of those whom he took to be authors of the last prorogation. The Earls of Essex and Halifax looked upon themselves as most in danger, and aimed at by Shaftesbury's threats, and out of all measures with the Duke of Monmouth.

This induced these lords, the Earl of Sunderland and Sir W. Temple, to advise the King to dissolve the parliament, and call another to meet in October. They had concerted that the King should propose it at the next council, and previously acquaint the Lord Chancellor Finch and others with his mind. But when the council met in July, his Majesty had not spoken on the subject to either of the parties. When his Majesty proposed for discussion, whether it was better to prorogue the parliament till October or to dissolve it, and call another at another time, great surprise was occasioned, and the Lord Chancellor spoke long and violently against the dissolution, in which opinion he was followed by all but the before-mentioned proposers and Sir W. Temple. Notwithstanding, his Majesty ordered the Chancellor to draw up a proclamation for a dissolution, and the council broke up in the greatest consternation.

Sir W. Temple was no friend to the Duke of Monmouth's measures. Resolving to stand for the University of Cambridge of which the Duke was chancellor, he desired the King to speak to Monmouth to engage his friends in his behalf. The King, when the Duke excused himself, pressed him in vain; he could only extract a promise of not interfering, which was kept, and furnishes an opportunity to Collins in his Peerage to state, that the keeping of his promises was a shining feature in the Duke's character.

The connection of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the

Duke of Monmouth, has been the theme of politicians as well as of poets: Absalom figures as one always guided and destined to be led by Achitophel. The scripture parallel is striking in some points; but what are the facts of history, apart from poetry and declamation? Was the Duke of Monmouth inspired with ambition, and led into every scene of political turmoil, a passive object in the hands of the Earl of Shaftesbury? A writer * thus treats the question. "I am not inclined," he states, "to believe it was his (the Duke's) connection with Shaftesbury that inspired him with ambitious views, but rather to reverse cause and effect, and to suppose that his ambitious views produced his connection with that nobleman; and whoever reads with attention Lord Grey's account of one of the party meetings at which he was present, will perceive that there was not between them that perfect cordiality which has been generally supposed, but that Russell, Grey, and Hampden, were upon a far more confidential footing with him."

The Earl of Shaftesbury, just before the Restoration, declared to the regicides, that he would suffer in body and soul rather than permit a hair of their heads to be hurt; and just after that event he was one of the judges who sentenced them. A principal member of the most profligate administration ever known, he was also a member of the most profligate opposition ever known. His utter want of principle was displayed throughout his busy life, every part of which, as if by a skilful contrivance, reflects infamy on every other. An abandoned prostitute in place, he was as desperate an incendiary out of it. His opposition to the court, in which, whether at his instigation or led by his own impulse, Monmouth

* Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

united, has been spoken of as "dishonest and revengeful."* Butler and Dryden have perpetuated the recollection of Shaftesbury, the former for his wonderful and almost instinctive skill in discovering the approach of a change of fortune; the latter drew his portrait with the striking features of violent passion, implacable revenge, and boldness amounting to temerity.

This great associate of Monmouth, so prudent, so sagacious, at last became headstrong, sanguine, full of impetuous confidence in his own wisdom and his own good luck; he built on the favour of the mob, and saw not the great change in affairs which had taken place.*

The Duke of York wrote to the King at this time, that nothing but the destruction of the monarchy and the King's family was intended. Monmouth, according to his opinion, would "stick at nothing that favours his ambition." † The Duchess of Monmouth is charged with setting her husband upon pretensions.‡ She has been called the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and possessing much wit. §

While affairs were in this condition, the severity of Lauderdale's administration in Scotland occasioned an insurrection of the rigid Presbyterians, field conventiclers or covenanters, some of whom murdered Dr. James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, on Magusmuir, in Fifeshire, May 3. Their numbers increasing, they seized the city of Glasgow, and formed a considerable army. The King was for suppressing the insurrection immediately by forces from England to join those in Scotland, and the Duke of Monmouth to command them all. The Earl of Shaftesbury proposed to the Duke to

* Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, in his Essays in the Edinburgh Review.
† Clarke's Life of James II.
‡ Diary of Hon. Henry Sidney. § Evelyn.

induce the King to raise a troop of 200 gentlemen for the guard of his royal person, as so many of the forces were to be sent away to Scotland, of which his Grace was to be the captain. The Earl of Essex, who had quarrelled with the Duke of Monmouth, was jealous of the Duke's increase of power by means of this command, and being at the head of the treasury raised insurmountable difficulties owing to the want of money, so that the scheme fell to the ground; though money was found for Monmouth to march into Scotland.*

The Duke of Monmouth, after a friendly parting with the King, who had been displeased with him, set out from London, June 18., for Scotland, where he arrived in three days, with an expedition considered incredible, and took the command. The Covenanters were five or six thousand strong, and had taken up a position six miles from Hamilton, at Bothwell Bridge, which they barricadoed and disputed the Duke's passage. These Covenanters were irresolute. An attempt to negotiate was made, but they were told that no proposal could be received from rebels in arms. One half hour was allowed. The Covenanters went on consuming their time in theological controversy, considering "the Duke to be in rebellion against the Lord and his people."

While thus almost unprepared, they were entirely defeated in an action, 22d of June, which, in compliment to the Duke of Monmouth, was too proudly called the battle of Bothwell Bridge. Four hundred Covenanters were killed, and twelve hundred made prisoners. Monmouth was evidently favourable to them, as the poet describes: — †

* Collins.

† Sir Walter Scott, Poem on the Clyde.

> The hardy peasant, by oppression driven
> To battle, deem'd his cause the cause of Heaven;
> Unskill'd in arms, with useless courage stood,
> While gentle Monmouth grieved to shed his blood.

The poet Edmund Waller writes,

> He grieves so many Britons should be lost,
> Taking more pains when he beheld them yield,
> To save the fliers than to win the field;
> And at the court his interest does employ,
> That none who scaped his fatal sword should die.

The Duke would not let the dragoons pursue and massacre those (as Oldmixon calls them) Protestants. The Duke of Lauderdale's faction complained of this checking the dragoons. The same historian adds, that the Duke of York talked of Monmouth's expedition to Scotland, as a courting the people there, and their friends in England, by his sparing those that were left alive; and that Charles himself said to Monmouth, "If I had been there, we would not have had the trouble of prisoners." The Duke answered, "I cannot kill men in cold blood, that's work only for butchers." The prisoners who promised to live peaceably were set at liberty; the others about two hundred and seventy were transported to our plantations, but were all cast away at sea!

The Duke of Lauderdale's creatures pressed the keeping the army some time in Scotland, with a design to have them eat it up; but the Duke of Monmouth sent home the militia, and put the troops under discipline, so that all the country was sensible he had preserved them from ruin. The Duke asked the King to grant an indemnity for what was past, and liberty to the Covenanters to hold their meetings under the King's license; but these softening measures fell with Monmouth, and rage and slaughter again reigned when the Duke of York obtained the government of Scotland.*

* Oldmixon.

Charles is said, by a violent party-writer, to have had a double motive in sending Monmouth to Scotland. First, to destroy the Covenanters, and so that the *Duke* might disoblige their friends in England; secondly, and that still acting in concert with his brother, though in a pretended banishment, he was resolved to take hold of the complaints against Monmouth to pick a quarrel with him and recall his brother.

When Monmouth returned to London, he was received by the people with so much joy, that some conceived the King's jealousy was excited; though other accounts assign a good reception by Charles. His flatterers now addressed him by the title of Highness. A poet alludes to the discordant feelings of the time:

> This ill requited Monmouth is the bough
> The muses send to shade thy conquering brow;
> Lampoons, like squibs, may make a present blaze,
> But time and thunder pay respect to bays.*

Essex and Halifax, who had been threatened by Shaftesbury with the vengeance of parliament, admitted that lord, and his disciple the Duke of Monmouth, to their secret meetings, being desirous of mollifying the resentment of the former. Notwithstanding this apparent confidence in each other, these ministers consulted Lord Sunderland and Sir W. Temple, who resolved to suggest the expediency of a dissolution, as Shaftesbury was known to have some new charges against the Queen and Duke of York. For form's sake the question of a dissolution was proposed in the council, July 10. Owing to some mismanagement, the royal wish had not been communicated to the King's friends: in consequence a majority had pronounced against the measure, when

* Edmund Waller.

the King suddenly gave directions for a dissolution, and the calling a new parliament. This threw Shaftesbury and Russell into a paroxysm of rage.*

The Duke of York was still in exile at Brussels. He and Charles alike grieved at the necessity which compelled the Duke to remain at a distance from the intrigues of faction. James took advantage of every opportunity to renew his solicitation for leave to return. Charles desired to grant his brother's request; but feared an insurrection in the state of public excitement, caused by the plot, should James present himself. Loving ease, the disquiet and annoyance caused by the contentions of the rival dukes, James Duke of York and Monmouth, no doubt tended in a great degree to estrange the King from the latter. A choice had to be made. Upon whom but his brother could that choice fall? Essex and Halifax, the most influential of the royal advisers, were to a certain extent the friends of the Duke of York, because they knew the success of Monmouth would lead to the triumph of Shaftesbury, and their own disgrace.

While James continued an exile, and Monmouth was at court enjoying the popularity his engaging manners, support of the prosecution of the plot, and greatness had procured him, the King was seized with a violent fever. Monmouth, the commander-in-chief, must have expected that the Duke of York would return at such a conjuncture; so, in order to prevent this, he had the face to solicit from the sick monarch, August 22., an order for the Duke of York not to remove from Brussels. This probably accelerated the crisis which will have to be related.

* Lingard, from Temple.

At the lodgings of the Duchess of Portsmouth assembled Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, Hyde, and Godolphin, by whose advice Charles invited the Duke of York to return to England on his own responsibility, and to go back to Brussels, after the King's recovery. James speedily arrived in disguise at Windsor, September 11., where the King, now convalescent, received him most affectionately. All the courtiers crowded round to offer their congratulations, except Monmouth, who appeared awkward and embarrassed.

A reconciliation between the Dukes of York and Monmouth was in agitation, a proposal for which was refused by the latter, at the suggestion of Shaftesbury. Monmouth occasionally dropped menaces of vengeance against those counsellors who had advised the recall of the Duke. The return of James to Brussels was determined on. The ministers who opposed Monmouth succeeded in awakening Charles to the injustice of the treatment which his brother experienced; while Monmouth, as commander-in-chief, remained at home at the head of a faction, ready to seize the crown in the event of Charles's death. The King was determined to act differently towards the competitors, and probably now saw the formidable position Monmouth occupied; and became alarmed.

It had been held out to the Duchess of Portsmouth, that if she could bring the King to the exclusion, and to some other popular things, the parliament would next go to prepare a bill for the security of the King's person, in which a clause might be carried that the King might declare the successor to the throne, as had been done in Henry VIII.'s time. Burnet supposes that, as the Duchess of Portsmouth was so absolute in her power over the King, she might reckon he would be prevailed

upon, after the passing of such an act, to declare her son the Duke of Richmond his successor.

In the "Heroic Life" it is mentioned that his Grace found the King's affections suddenly alienated from him. Burnet gives this account: that when the King recovered from the intermittent fever by the use of quinquina, or Jesuits' bark, it was moved that James should return, which he had no mind to do; but, after long expostulation, he demanded as the price of his consent, that the Duke of Monmouth should be divested of all his offices, and be obliged to go into exile. Charles probably got rid of James by promising to adopt the treatment the latter had proposed towards Monmouth.

Sir John Reresby intimates that the illness was feigned, and was suggested by Lord Feversham as an excuse for sending for the Duke of York. Sir W. Temple evidently thought the King was in no danger, and confirms the statement of the general ignorance there was of the Duke of York's return. There evidently were intrigues of which Sir William could only observe the effects, and of which he evidently disapproved. He upon this occasion withdrew from the Privy Council.*

On September 12th, the King sent for the Duke of Monmouth, who had attained the zenith of his greatness, and told him that circumstances required him to resign his office of lord-general, and to withdraw for a season to the Continent. Monmouth appears to have been unwilling to obey the King's directions. His answer was pettish and disrespectful. Though the King's pride was offended, his affection for the Duke was not ex-

* Memoirs of Sir J. Reresby, i. 342. See note, Burnet Smith's edition.

tinguished. May not this affectionate regard for Monmouth have been partly feigned? The times were truly alarming; the prospects of the future were veiled in clouds that bespoke the tempest. The King may have seen a probable state of affairs in which safety could only be found in the Protestant Duke, the leader of a triumphant party. Sunderland told the Hon. H. Sidney, October 29., that the Duke of Monmouth's proceedings and Lord Shaftesbury's were not to be endured; and that if the King had died, the Duke would have made great troubles, by either setting up for himself, or for a Commonwealth.*

Monmouth in the evening consulted Shaftesbury, Montague, and the leaders of his party. They advised him to obey. He reluctantly complied with their advice, which was given on political grounds; that his banishment would raise him to the dignity of a martyr in the eyes of the people, and that the parliament would not fail to recall, reinstate, and demand justice for a prince whose only crime was his attachment to the religion and liberties of his country.† Monmouth's filial obedience is thus lauded in a Broad Sheet in the peculiar language of the day. "The extraordinary joy with which his princely soul was filled for the happy recovery of his Majesty far exceeded the sorrow which he conceived for the loss of his places, saying, as *Mephibosheth*, when he had been in like manner slandered to King *David*, Let them take all, it shall be enough for me that the King my father hath recovered his health and sits on his throne in peace; and I pray God he may long do so, and that divine Providence may always

* Diary, published by Blencowe, vol. i.

† James's Memoirs, i. 566. 570., Temple, Burnet, &c. See Lingard, xii. 216.

shield him from the treacherous contrivances and wicked machinations both of popish peers and peasants." *

The Earl of Sunderland, that very day, 12th September, desired the Attorney-General to report for the King's information, whether it was necessary to revoke the Duke of Monmouth's commission as General under the great seal, and added that the King did not intend to confer the place upon any other person.†

W. Blathwayte, Esq., mentions in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, the Duke's having been sent for to Windsor on the 13th September.

Monmouth repaired to Utrecht, September 24. Upon his leaving Whitehall, the people viewed him "with sighs and flowing brine, as if they would have made the tide swell greater than it was." Such is the inflated language indulged in towards the darling of the people. "James Duke of Monmouth, born during the time of his royal father's (and our dread sovereign's) most unjust exilement, &c.—therefore it may be said of his Grace in part, as it was of Annibal, that Carthaginian prince and masterpiece of war, though not born in a winter camp, where drums and trumpets charm the globe, yet born in tumults and bred up to great exploits; for no sooner had he passed his tender years, but thirst of military glory spurred him on to baffle danger and contemn those panic fears that like to mill-stones clog the soul, and with too much grossness and humidity keep her from soaring to her proper sphere, quenching these heroick fires that otherways would blaze bright, and curle among the clouds or borne on the wings of fame, illuminate the nations round about, or make pale envy groan." †

* Collins.

† A broad sheet, eight pages fol., no date. A relation of the birth, as

In September the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Monmouth had a private audience, in which the latter showed the Prince a letter from the King of England promising that his exile should not be of long continuance.* When the Honourable Henry Sidney, the ambassador at the Hague, conversed with the Prince respecting the Duke of Monmouth, the Prince said he thought it not fit to make any excuse because he did not think there was any fault, meaning in a display of favour towards him. He used his Grace no better than he ought to have done one that the King wrote such kind letters to, and one who made the greatest court to him.†

At the audience the Prince of Orange asked Monmouth the cause of his disgrace, and was told that the King of England was desirous the Duke of York should absent himself, who had refused to agree to this, unless Monmouth should also quit the kingdom.* The latter would fain have had the Duke of York to remain, if he might have been allowed to stay. The King said he could not, because he would be impeached.† The Honourable H. Sidney, the ambassador, spoke with the Prince of Orange, September 28., who said, he did not very well know the reason of the Duke of Monmouth's coming to Holland. The Prince repeated much of the conversation, and "one particular, that if the Duke of Monmouth thought of the crown he would not be his

well as of several remarkable passages during the minority of the victorious JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH, eldest son to his Majesty of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; with the true account of his many signal and heroic victories in Holland, Flanders, and Scotland, to his immortal fame; with the manner of his departure from Whitehall, and of his joyful reception in Holland. *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

* D'Avaux.

† Hon. H. Sidney's Diary and Letters, by Blencowe.

friend in that, but in every thing else he would."* D'Avaux has been very minute as to the conversation between the Prince of Orange and Monmouth.

The Prince entered into serious conversation with Monmouth upon the pretended marriage of his mother, upon which Monmouth explained himself in a manner quite agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Monmouth had before in this conversation alluded to the reports of his having set up some pretensions during the King's illness, which he denied. He again gave the Prince his word of honour that he never had, nor ever should have, the least thought of such pretensions. The Prince of Orange was satisfied.

Monmouth lodged with one May, a barber; and courted De Ruiter and M. Krick, because they were good Protestants.*

Mr. Secretary Coventry had represented with so much force the inconvenience that might arise if, at the King's death, the heir to the crown resided in a foreign country, that the Duke of York received permission to reside at Edinburgh instead of Brussels. He returned to Brussels for his wife and family; but on his voyage to Leith he cast anchor in the Downs, October 9., and requested permission of his brother to remain in England. He had been secretly informed that Charles had no objection. The King really was now wholly in his interest †, but Essex and Halifax were inexorable. He received an invitation to court, and after a short visit proceeded on his voyage, October 12.‡

The general result of the elections had been unfavourable to the court, so that Shaftesbury promised himself

* Hon. H. Sidney's Diary and Letters, i. 154.
† Burnet. ‡ James's Memoirs.

a triumph over his political opponents. He was superseded as president of the council by the Earl of Radnor (lately Lord Robartes), October 15. Without any previous notice, the King ordered a prorogation of parliament, for a few weeks, afterwards by repeated commissions for twelve months. The privy councillors gazed on each other with amazement; some rose to speak, but Charles commanded silence.

Charles had applied to the King of France, June 24., before the dissolution, for pecuniary assistance. Louis was offended at Charles's conduct; but a reconciliation took place. Charles agreed to become a pensioner of France, October 17., receiving 1,000,000 livres per annum for three years. The King of England then prorogued, as not wanting, a parliament. The treaty not being signed, Louis wished to append new and humiliating conditions. Charles refused these, and determined to follow the advice of James, viz. to substitute a rigorous economy, instead of a pension from France, and refused to resume the negotiation with Barillon the French ambassador.*

* Dalrymple. James's Memoirs.

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1679.

The agitation is kept up by Shaftesbury. — Anecdote of De Foe. — Green-ribbon club. — Silk armour. — Protestant-flail. — Annual POPE-BURNING, 17th November. — Procession on this occasion. — Imitation of the London Pope-burning at Edinburgh. — Burning of Guy Fawkes confounded with the Pope-burning. — Attendance on 5th November, a test of loyalty. — Absentees at Bristol on this occasion threatened with prosecution. — Origin of the word *mob*. — How men pilloried for solemnizing 5th November fared.

A SHORT chapter will display how Shaftesbury and his associates kept up the agitation so useful to them, and prevented the fears of the people from subsiding. The strongest apprehensions of a Popish government, and its worst evils, as an immediate consequence, were firmly established. It being expected that printed Bibles would soon become rare, or locked up in an unknown tongue, many honest people, struck with the alarm, employed themselves in copying the Bible into short-hand, that they might not be destitute of its consolations in the hour of calamity. To this task young De Foe, the author of Robinson Crusoe, also applied himself; and he tells us that he worked like a horse, till he had written out the whole Pentateuch, when he grew so tired that he was willing to risk the rest.*

It was about the year 1679, that the famous King's Head Club was formed, so named from its being held at the King's Head Tavern in Fleet Street. As on particular occasions the members wore green ribbons in their hats, the term Green-ribbon club has been given them. North speaks of this assembly in strong terms.

* Hazlitt's Life of De Foe.

They were terrorists, and spread alarm with great effect. It was at this club that silk armour, pistol proof, was recommended as a security against assassination at the hands of the Papists; and the particular kind of life-preserver of that day, called a *Protestant flail*, was introduced. But the establishing the annual POPE-BURNING was the grandest feature in all their proceedings. North says, Lord Shaftesbury was the manager. Ralph gives a circumstantial narrative of one of these processions, from a folio sheet, called LONDON'S DEFIANCE TO ROME, said to have been prepared by a "number of worthy, true Protestant gentlemen, to express their own, the city's, and indeed the whole nation's defiance and just detestation of Popish Idolators for the celebration of that Anti-papal Jubilee-day in 1679." This day was the 17th of November, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's coronation day. The celebration was one of great expense, much pomp, more noise, and productive of great political effect upon the minds of the excited people.

On the said 17th of November, the bells generally about the town, London, began to ring at three o'clock in the morning. At the approach of the evening, (all things being in readiness,) the *solemn procession* began, setting forth from Moorgate, and so passed first to Aldgate, and thence through Leadenhall Street, by the Royal Exchange, through Cheapside, and so to Temple Bar, in the ensuing order, viz.

1. Came six whifflers to clear the way, in pioneers' caps, and red waistcoats.
2. A bellman ringing, and with a loud (but dolesome) voice, crying out all the way, *Remember Justice* GODFREY.
3. A dead body, representing Justice *Godfrey*, in a decent black habit, carried before a Jesuit in black on horseback, in like manner as he was carried by the assassins to Primrose Hill.

4. Next after Sir Edmundbury, so mounted, came a priest in a surplice, with a cope embroidered with dead bones, skeletons, skulls, and the like, giving pardons very plentifully to all those that should murder Protestants; and proclaiming it meritorious.
5. Then a priest in black alone, with a great silver cross.
6. Four Carmelites in white and black habits.
7. Four Grey Friars in the proper habits of their order.
8. Six Jesuits with bloody daggers.
9. A concert of wind music.
10. Four Bishops, in purple and lawn sleeves, with a golden crozier on their breast, and crozier staves in their hands.
11. Four other Bishops, *in Pontificalibus*, with surplices, and rich embroidered copes, and golden mitres on their heads.
12. Six Cardinals, in scarlet robes and caps.
13. The Pope's doctor, *i.e.* Wakeman with Jesuits-powder in one hand, and an urinal in the other.
14. Two priests in surplices with two golden crosses.

Lastly, THE POPE, in a lofty, glorious pageant, representing a chair of state, covered with scarlet, richly embroidered and fringed, and bedecked with golden balls and crosses. At his feet a cushion of state, and two boys in surplices with white silk banners, and bloody crucifixes and daggers: with an incense pot before them, censing his Holiness, who was arrayed in a splendid scarlet gown, lined through with ermine, and richly daubed with gold and silver lace; on his head a triple crown of gold, and a glorious collar of gold and precious stones, St. Peter's keys, a number of beads, *Agnus Dei's*, and other Catholic trumpery. At his back, his Holiness's Privy Counsellor (the degraded seraphim, *anglicè*, the devil), frequently caressing, hugging, and whispering him: and oft times instructing him aloud to destroy his Majesty, to forge a *Protestant Plot*, and to fire the city again, to which purpose he held an infernal torch in his hand.

The whole procession was attended with 150 flambeaux and lights by order, but so many more came in volunteers as made up some thousands.

Never were the balconies, windows and houses, more numerously lined, or the streets closer thronged with multitudes of people: all expressing their abhorrence of *Popery*, with continual shouts and exclamations, so that 'tis modestly computed that in the whole progress there could not be fewer than 200,000 spectators.

Thus with a slow and solemn state, they proceeded to Temple Bar; where with innumerable swarms, the houses seemed to be converted into heaps of men, and women, and children; for whose diversion there were provided great variety of excellent fireworks.

Temple Bar being, since its rebuilding, adorned* with four stately statues, viz. Those of Queen Elizabeth and King James, on the inner or eastern side, fronting the city; and those of King Charles I. of blessed memory, and our present gracious Sovereign (whom God, in mercy to these nations, long preserve) on the outside, facing towards Westminster; and the statue of Queen Elizabeth, in regard to the day, having on a crown of gilded laurel, and in her hand a golden shield, with this motto inscribed, — *The Protestant religion* and *Magna Charta*,— and flambeaux placed before it. The pope being brought up near thereunto, the following song, alluding to the posture of those statues, was sung in parts between one representing the English Cardinal (Howard), and others acting the people.

Cardinal Norfolk.

From York to London town we come,
To talk of Popish ire,
To reconcile you all to Rome,
And prevent Smithfield fire.

Plebs.

Cease, cease thou Norfolk cardinal,
See yonder stands Queen Bess;
Who sav'd our souls from Popish thrall,
Oh Queen Bess, Queen Bess, Queeen Bess!

Your Popish plot, and Smithfield threat,
We do not fear at all;
For, lo! beneath Queen Bess's feet,
You fall, you fall, you fall.

[
'Tis true, our king's on t'other side
A looking tow'rds Whitehall:
But could we bring him round about,
He'd counterplot you all.
]

[
Then down with James, and set up Charles
On good Queen Bess's side;
That all true commons, lords and earls,
May wish him a fruitful bride.
]

* Ralph states that a blank was left in the print for the two stanzas enclosed in brackets, and he found them supplied in Lord Somers's own hand-writing. Ralph copied from Lord Somers's Collection, xx.

Now God preserve Great Charles our King,
And eke all honest men;
And traitors all to justice bring:
Amen, amen, amen.

Then having entertained the thronging spectators for some time with the ingenious fireworks, a vast bonfire being prepared just over against the Inner Temple gate, his Holiness, after some compliments and reluctancies, was decently toppled from all his grandeur into the impartial flames; the crafty *devil* leaving his infallibility in the lurch, and laughing as heartily at his deserved ignominious end as subtile Jesuits do at the ruin of bigoted lay Catholics, whom themselves have drawn in; or as credulous *Coleman's* abettors did, when, with pretences of a reprieve at last gasp, they had made him vomit up his soul with a lye, and seal'd his dangerous chops with a halter. This justice was attended with a prodigious shout, that might be heard far beyond Somerset-house; and 'twas believed the echo, by continued reverberations, before it ceas'd, reach'd *Scotland* (the Duke of York was then there), *France*, and even *Rome* itself, damping them all with a dreadful astonishment.

The imitation of the annual Pope-burnings at Edinburgh, in 1681, on Christmas day, gave rise to a proclamation: a collision with the soldiers, and other disturbances ensued, which occasioned the schools of that University for a time to be closed. In 1682, when Charles II. recovered the government of the capital, Pope-burnings were suppressed. James II. put down such exhibitions in both countries. No sooner however was the Prince of Orange's landing in England known, than these were renewed in some degree. The students of Edinburgh began, as of old, their grand exhibition: and the magistrates, so altered were circumstances, became spectators.*

It is a curious fact that many sensible persons in the west, now speak of the "old pope" being carried about, when in reality the effigy is that of Guy Fawkes. They have early learned to call this the "old pope," and do not

Janeway's Collection of State Papers.

get rid of the settled habit. Their nurses taught them so to name this figure. Connecting it with the former practice of carrying the effigy of the pope in procession, and then committing it to the flames. Hence a useless person, a mere figure, and not an active workman, is called "a pope (pronounced pwup) of a thing."

Many of the numerous effigies of Guy Fawkes carried about in the metropolis on the 5th of November have a mitre on their head, curiously exhibiting a confounding of Fawkes and the pope. The lines repeated in the west of England by those who go from door to door on that day, upon meeting any respectable person, are:

Up with the ladder
And down with the rope;
Give us a penny,
To burn the old pope.

Corporation archives contain entries of the expenses "at the bonfire on" November 5. Money was paid for the fuel, and wine drunk round the fire by the civic bodies, so late as the middle of the last century. The pomp of this celebration is not to be wondered at when we learn that it was received in Charles II.'s reign, as the test of loyalty; and that absence on these occasions led to the infliction of penalties. At the close of this reign, the Duke of Beaufort, and some of the corporation of Bristol, had written to the Earl of Sunderland complaining of there being malecontents and evil-disposed persons. The King thinks he has met with a bad return for his grace to the city. The company of soap-boilers, and others of the common council, had withdrawn their attendance upon the mayor to celebrate the 5th November last. His Majesty will put the soap-boilers into Mr. Attorney-General's hands.*

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Coll. ii. 149.

The rabble were first called a *mob* from the *mobile vulgus* of these pope-burnings.*

The king issued a proclamation in May 1680, against the solemnization of the 5th of November; but notwithstanding the day was kept with bonfires as usual. Lord Shaftesbury contributed five guineas to the procession, and others proportionally. It was said Queen Elizabeth's birth-day would cost the pope dearer than ever.†

Some who had been sentenced to stand in the pillory for rioting on the preceding 5th of November, were conveyed to Gracechurch Street to undergo their sentence, December 1683. Sturdy fellows were mixed up with the crowd, and threatened any one that did but speak against the men in the pillory. They said they would be for a Monmouth, and burn the pope for all that. They drank healths with huzzas. The three pilloried on this occasion began the Duke of Monmouth's health with a bottle of sack: they went away in coaches, and had money given them.‡

* North's Examen.
† Letter of William Blathwayte to Sir Robert Southwell.
‡ State Paper Office, xiv.

CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1679.

Monmouth impatient of exile. — Solicits, in vain, to be allowed to return. — Shaftesbury induces his Grace to return without leave. — Great rejoicings in London. — Charles resents this disobedience. — Orders Monmouth, in vain, to quit the kingdom. — Monmouth stripped of all his offices. — Libel to prepare the public mind for the future pretensions of Monmouth. — Historical parallel. — Author. — New mode of agitation. — Petitioning. — Alarm of the King. — Anecdote of Dare. — Trial of Dare. — Bishop Mews. — Abhorrers. — Commons take up the case of persecuted petitioners. — Censure Sir Thomas Holt upon his knees. — A charge to a grand jury from a judge. — Charles recalls the Duke of York. — Some lords retire from the council. — The Black Box. — Its history, author. — King publishes two declarations in the Gazette. — A political novel, "The Perplexed Prince." — Letters of the Princess of Orange. — Courtiers insulted at the playhouses. — Monmouth's amours during his leisure. — He makes interest with the King's new mistress. — Charles on good terms with the city of London. — Sups with the Lord Mayor. — Aldermen drink healths on their knees. — Monmouth desirous to be reconciled with Charles. — King publishes a declaration of never having married Monmouth's mother. — Monmouth's legitimacy treated of. — Pamphlet, "A Letter to a Person of Honour, &c." — Shaftesbury and others present the Duke of York as a Papist. — Achitophel. — The Earl of Shaftesbury's influence over Monmouth. — Cavalier party averse to Monmouth's being king of England.

Monmouth became impatient of remaining in exile. He begged the King to be allowed to return; but in vain, nor could he see any hope of obtaining leave. Shaftesbury recalled him under the pretext that the time of his exile was determined by that of the Duke of York, who had obtained permission to reside in the King's dominions, and that he had a right to the same benefit.*

The Duke of Monmouth determined to return to England. Our ambassador, Sidney, heard, November

* Burnet, &c.

25th, from a servant, that the Duke of Monmouth was gone, and told the Prince of Orange the news; who said it was not fair play, considering they were plotting together. This is to be received as the language of irony, and not that which an implicated person would have used.* His Grace arrived in London at midnight, November 27. The watch spread the news of his arrival, when the city was presently illuminated with bonfires, and the bells of every church rang to express the great joy of the citizens.† He went to the Cockpit, where all his friends assembled round him.

The King deeply resented the disobedience of the Duke, and the extraordinary manner of his reception. He ordered him to quit the kingdom immediately, under the penalty of perpetual exclusion from the royal presence; he rejected the petitions of the Duchess of Monmouth and her friends, and he deprived Monmouth (but successively, and after short intervals, that he might have time for repentance) of his several offices.‡ Sir W. Temple wonders how the Duke of York's interest had been able to disgrace his rival Monmouth. Christopher Duke of Albemarle had his troop of Life Guards; John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, his government of Hull, and the lieutenancy of the East Riding of Yorkshire, on November 28.; and the next day Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, his office of warden and chief justice in eyre of all his Majesty's forests, parks, &c. on this side the Trent.§ The King put the mastership of the horse in commission. Monmouth declared he would live upon his wife's fortune, and continued to receive all the opposition. He left

* Diary and Letters of Hon. H. Sidney, i. 195.
† Oldmixon, Ralph, &c.
‡ Lingard. § Collins.

the Cockpit November 28., and went to his house in Hedge Lane.*

Now was printed and circulated an important tract, which was a most seditious libel, intended to prepare the public mind for the future pretensions of the Duke of Monmouth. Commonly referred to as "an Appeal from the country to the city," the additional words of the title may be useful to illustrate the character of the publication. They are, "for the preservation of his Majesty's person, liberty, property, and religion."† The citizens were called on to ascend the monument, to contemplate from its summit the magnificent scene which lay at their feet, and then to imagine that they beheld their houses in flames, their children and neighbours massacred, their wives and daughters violated, and their ministers and teachers tortured by the papists. This terrific spectacle was to be realised on the succession of a popish monarch. Safety depended upon the life of the King, which was precarious, from his not crediting the plot, and thus exposing himself to the daggers of the assassins. The crisis was near at hand when a leader must be selected against French invaders and popish rebels. "No man," the writer adds, "is fitter than his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, as well for quality, courage, and conduct, as for that his life and fortune stand in the same bottom as yours. He will stand by you, and therefore you ought to stand by him. And remember the old rule, *He that has the worst title will make the best king*, as being constrained by gracious government to supply what he wants in title, that instead of 'God and my Right,' his motto may be 'God

* James's Memoirs.

† State Tracts, reign Charles II. ii. 491. Parl. Hist. iv. App. xcv. See also Lord Somers' Tracts, vii. 188.

and my People.'" In the same piece historical example is quoted for the choice of the Duke of Monmouth. The election of the Macedonians, after the death of Alexander, devolved upon King Philip's illegitimate son, Arcdæus; who, notwithstanding that he was a man but of reasonable parts himself, might, as they thought, perform the office well enough by the help of his wise protector Perdiccas. This endeavour to establish the Duke of Monmouth's claim aimed less at a legal than a popular basis. Such was not, however, long the case. A distinct legal claim was soon after advanced.

This publication, from a discovery of a paper some years after in the custody of Mr. Charlton, who was deeply concerned in the cabals of those times, has been assigned to Ferguson. This desperate and flagitious incendiary, who seemed to love plots for the very pleasure his dark spirit found in agitating and stormy intrigues, was at this time the manager of a private printing press, which teemed with the productions best calculated to inflame the public mind.*

An extraordinary agitation was now produced at the instigation of the Earl of Shaftesbury, by the getting up petitions to the King that the parliament might be permitted to sit. London, grand juries, counties, and towns joined in the excitement which Charles could not lay. He had answered that it was *his* province and not that of the petitioners to judge of the proper time for the sitting of parliament. So vehement were the *petitioners* that his Majesty became alarmed, and furnished Portsmouth, Sheerness, Hull, and other fortresses with trusty garrisons. When we read of proclamations against petitioning, and severities practised

* Sir Walter Scott, Lord Somers' Tracts.

at this time against those who went about "to get hands," i. e. signatures, we should reflect that petitions to the King from bodies of his subjects intended to advise or influence him in the exercise of his undoubted prerogatives, such as the calling a parliament together, familiar as they may now have become, had no precedent, except one in the dark year 1640, and were repugnant to the ancient principles of our monarchs.* Charles in vain sought to escape from the bearers of petitions. An adventure illustrates the boldness and determination of one petitioner, who became intimately connected soon after with the Duke of Monmouth. To this individual the fatal expedition to the West has been attributed.† Heywood Dare, sometimes distinguished from his son by the appellation of "old Dare," a goldsmith of Taunton, in spite of the severities practised, presented a petition from Taunton to Charles II., as that King was coming out of the House of Lords, the day he had in person declared to both Houses his resolution to postpone the session. Upon his Majesty asking the petitioner "How he dar'd do that?" "Sir," said he, "my name is DARE." This pun sufficiently designated the individual who was selected to be made an example of. Revenge could not be taken upon him for petitioning, though done in spite of the proclamation, but for seditious words. He was sent for to the council in custody to answer for these; and afterwards prosecuted and fined 500*l.*, and had to find security for three years for good behaviour. The town of Taunton, profiting by the example made of Dare, took occasion soon after to disown his petition in the Gazette.‡ The

* Hallam, Constitutional Hist. of England, ii. 311.
† Rev. A. Paschall, Serjeant Heywood's Appendix.
‡ Ralph.

seditious words used in conversation were, that subjects had but two means to redress their grievances, — one by petitioning, the other by rebellion. Dare had heard that Henry VIII., during a rebellion, said to his people, "Why did you not petition?" He had no rebellious intentions, for when speaking of rebellion he said, "God forbid there should be a rebellion; he would be the first man to draw his sword against a rebel." A principal witness was absent, who had heard the words spoken; but Justice Jones would not allow the trial to be postponed. The jury were *provided* on purpose, being persons that had highly opposed petitioning. Dare, pressed by the judge, confessed the words, but denied any evil intent. We have seen what the sentence was. Mews, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was at the assize, March 3. 1680, and describes the fining Dare and turning him out of the corporation of Taunton. This was effected by the judges under a clause of the charter, that the Bishop, who completely managed Somersetshire, was the occasion of having inserted, and which was, he affirms, a great check upon the petitioners. The Bishop was so charmed with the judges North and Jones, that he broke out into an eulogium of them as having "behaved worthy of their station; and we are so in love with them, that I cannot say of them, than that they are *Deliciæ Occidentis*, the Delight of the West."*

The King's proclamation, December 10., addressed to the magistrates, did not deny the right of petitioning, nor pretend that the sitting of parliament was an improper or illegal subject. It attached itself solely to the manner of procuring signatures, and threatened with

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Coll. Domestic. iii.

the utmost rigour of punishment all who should subscribe their names, or procure the subscription of others, contrary to the common and known laws of the land.*

The court party, throughout the country, were violently alarmed, and feared a repetition of the scenes of 1641. They came forward with addresses counter to those of the *petitioners*, in which the word *abhor* so prominently figured, that they became known by the appellation of *abhorrers*. The language of the abhorrers was warm, often intemperate. The mayor and corporation of the loyal city of Gloucester, declared before God and the whole world, that they did abominate, detest, and from their hearts *abhor* that most impious, devilish, and traitorous association, hatched in hell, and lodged in the hands of known and most eminent disturbers of the peace of the kingdom; an association not to be mentioned among Christians without amazement; that threatened ruin both to church and state, and had again involved us in blood, had not God of his great mercy detected it, &c.† Ridicule was not spared by the court party. A writer, speaking of the petitions, says, "and the roll being opened and extended, there appeared more shapes than ever dreams presented, looking as if they were alive, and like insects crawling about, or as the half-formed equivocal vermin in the mud of Nile; but looking closer, they all showed themselves no other than hieroglyphics of clowns."‡ This description would equally apply to an abhorrent petition. All such documents had a singular appearance, from the great proportion of marks or crosses affixed by those who could not write their names.

* Lingard, xii. 224.
† Lord Somers' Tracts, Sir W. Scott's edition.
‡ North's Examen.

The House of Commons, the following year, appointed a committee to inquire into the proceedings against petitioners. Mr. Trenchard reported some magistrates who had sent up the name to the council of a Mr. Arnold, in Monmouthshire. Sir Thomas Holt was called and received the censure of the House upon his knees.* The committee further reported a charge delivered at Kingston assizes by Mr. Baron Weston.

He inveighed much against Farrell, Luther, Calvin, and Zuinglius, condemning them as authors of the Reformation, which was against their princes' minds, and then adding to this purpose, "Zuinglius set up his fanaticism, and Calvin built on that blessed foundation, and, to speak truth, all his disciples are seasoned with such a sharpness of spirit, that it much concerns magistrates to keep a straight hand over them: and now they are restless, amusing us with fears, and nothing will save them but a parliament. For my part, I know no representative of the nation but the King; all power centres in him. It is true he does intrust it with his ministers, but he is the sole representative; and I'faith, he has wisdom enough to intrust it no more in these men, who have given us such late examples of their wisdom and faithfulness."

The committee came to a resolution that the said expressions were a scandal to the Reformation, in derogation of the rights and privileges of parliaments, and tending to raise discord between his Majesty and his subjects.†

At the close of this year, 1679, in which the Duke of Monmouth set up his pretensions to the crown with

* Commons' Journals, November 21. 1680.
† Commons' Journals, December 23. 1680.

little or no reserve*, his Grace had the affliction to lose his eldest son Charles, Earl of Doncaster, who was buried with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey. †

The courtiers about this time wrote disparagingly of the Duke's position. They spoke of him as not being considerable. He paid great court in December to Nell Gwynn, and used to be shut up in her closet when the King came. From this connection it was judged he had great expectations.‡

The presentation of such numerous abhorrent petitions, so singularly abounding with loyalty and attachment to Charles, gratified that monarch, and induced him, so early as January 28. 1680, to announce to the council that he had ordered the Duke of York to return to St. James's from Edinburgh. Lord Russell, Cavendish, and others, tendered their resignation as councillors, which his Majesty received "with all his heart."§ The Duke of York's reception in the metropolis was a gratifying one. The friends of his rival the Duke of Monmouth felt it necessary to bring forward something to recall the wavering affections of the people. We have seen the Duke of Monmouth's claim to the crown advanced and advocated rather on a popular than on a legal basis: it was now brought forward upon a strictly legal one. The country was agitated by the story of the BLACK BOX.

The early connection between Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and the Duke of Monmouth when young, at Paris, has been alluded to. The Bishop left a son-in-law, Sir Gilbert Gerard, to whom, it was reported, he entrusted a *black box*, in which was deposited the actual

* Ralph.

† Heroic Life, where it is added "among his royal ancestors."

‡ Diary and Letters of Hon. H. Sidney, Dec. 16. 1679.

§ James's Memoirs. Kennet, &c.

contract of marriage between Charles and Monmouth's mother. Many persons were said to have seen and perused this important document. Every individual named in these reports was sent for to the council. Each disclaimed any knowledge of the black box, the contract, or the marriage, and particularly Sir Gilbert Gerard did so. It is believed that Ferguson composed the piece known as the "Black Box." The pretended marriage was said to have been consummated at Cologne. Charles published two declarations in the Gazette, April 26.; repeated the deposition he had formerly subscribed, and called God to witness he had never been married to Lucy Barlow, or to any other woman besides the Queen.*

Colonel Legge, afterwards Earl of Dartmouth, in a debate upon the Bill of Exclusion this year, said, "They talk of another successor in a black box; but if that Pandora's box is to be opened, I hope it will be in my time, and not in that of my children, that I may have the honour of drawing my sword in support of the rightful heir."†

The pretended secret history of Charles II. and Lucy Walters was published under borrowed names in the "Perplexed Prince," written in the manner of a novel, and dedicated to William Lord Russell. The King is there said to have been certainly married to her. This book, which is but a mean performance, had a great influence on the populace. The late Sir Walter Scott possessed a copy.‡ In a letter from the Princess of Orange to Charles II. from the Hague, 20th of May 1655, these remarkable words are to be found: —

"Your wife is resolving whether she will write or no:

* London Gazette, 1507. 1520. James I. 589.
† Lingard, xii. 241. See Grainger.

therefore I am to say nothing to you from her." Again, from Hounslerdike, June 21. 1655: "Your wife desires me to present her humble duty to you; which is all she can say. I tell her 'tis because she thinks of another husband, and does not follow your example of being as constant a wife as you are a husband; 'tis a frailty they say is given to the sex: therefore you will pardon her I hope."* A living historian, Mr. Hallam, though he takes this to have been a scandalous indecency on the part of the Princess of Orange, yet says it proves no more than that Charles, like other young men, in the heat of passion, was foolish enough to give that appellation to his mistress; and that his sister humoured him in it.†

Lady Sunderland wrote, January 6., to her brother the Hon. H. Sidney, of the abominable disorders amongst them in England, — calling the women (we presume the court ladies) ——, and the men rogues in the playhouses, throwing candles and links, calling my Lord Sunderland traitor, but in good company; the Duke of York rascal; and all ended in "God bless his Highness the Duke of Monmouth. We will be for him against all the world."‡ At the close of the month we learn more scandal from the same source.§ "The Duke of Monmouth has so little employment in state affairs, that he has been at leisure to send two fine ladies out of town. My Lord Grey has carried his wife into Northumberland; and my Lady Wentworth's ill eyes did find cause, as she thought, to carry her daughter into the country in so much haste that it makes a great noise, and was done sure in some great passion. My Lord Grey was long in believing the Duke of Mon-

* Thurloe's State Papers, i. 665.
† Hallam's Constitutional History.
‡ Diary and Letters by Blencowe, i. 237. § Ibid. 261.

mouth an unfaithful friend to him. He gave her but one night's time to take leave, pack up, and be gone. Some say he is gone to improve his interests in the north." In a subsequent letter it is mentioned that Lord Grey, having carried his wife far from her beloved, had joined the Duke in Sussex.

In the Diary of H. Sidney, March 9., is recorded the King's having a new mistress, Lord R——'s daughter. She brought the Duke of Monmouth to the King; he resolves to take up arms in case the King dies, for he will conclude him murdered.

His Majesty and the city of London were upon very good terms. When he supped about March 12. at the mayor's, "the people showed as much affection and duty as the expressions at such a time could be. The aldermen drank the King's health over and over again upon their knees, and wished all hanged and d——d that would not serve him with their lives and fortunes. They attended him to Whitehall at two o'clock in the morning; they would not trust him with his guards, who were all drunk, but brought some of their own, and they all went merry out of the King's cellar. The next day they came in a full body to give both the King and Duke (of York) thanks for the honour they had done them."*

The courtiers called Monmouth's party the mutineers, whom the same lady* pictures as not able to work, both city and country having a mind to be quiet. These would have been glad to have the King and the Duke cut off, because they thought the greatest party would be for a commonwealth, of which the Duke of Monmouth should be prince.†

* Dowager Lady Sunderland to Hon. H. Sidney, March 12. 1680.

† Diary of Hon. H. Sidney, April 17.

In May, when Charles was indisposed, Monmouth wrote to inquire for his health. The King bade Godolphin tell him that if he would make his actions answerable to the conclusion of his letter "dutiful Monmouth," and obey his orders, it was the only way to a reconciliation; but that if he flattered himself with the support of the factious party, or that the parliament might interpose for him, he should find it would but make things worse; and, accordingly, about a month after, perceiving no change in the Duke of Monmouth's conduct, he published, June 8., a declaration as already described.

Though the truth of the Duke of Monmouth's legitimacy or not is well known, still it is important to trace the attempts to establish it, and the energy with which it was maintained against the evidence and word of a king. Charles's declarations by no means set the matter at rest. Ferguson succeeded, so late as June 1681, in creating a great sensation by a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to a Person of Honour concerning the King's disavowing the having been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother." 4to. 24 pages.*

The writer asserts that the thinking men about town were not surprised that the Duke of York, having got the ascendant over the King, should hector him into, or extort from him, a declaration of never having married Monmouth's mother. As the Duke of York had renounced for a time his own wife, and even provided persons to swear a familiarity with her, could he be supposed to have any scruples in importuning the King to do as much by Mrs. Walters?

The writer quotes an expression of the King, made not

* Harleian Miscellany, iv. 157.

long ago, that "he was harassed out of his life, by the importunity of his brother, &c. He would rather choose to die, than live so uneasily as he did, while he withstood their daily solicitations in this matter."

It is remarkable that the anonymous pamphleteer describes the town as being apprehensive that the King would expose himself to violence by having clearly pointed out a successor; and that the declaration against Monmouth would prove Charles's last will and testament. A regret is expressed that no one would call to his memory that saying of Tacitus, *Suspectus semper invisusque Dominanti qui proximus destinatur*, englished, to suit political views, with some variation, thus, "That he ought always to be suspected and carefully watched against by the ruler, who most ardently hopes, and thinks himself in likelihood to succeed him."

Under the fifth head is asserted, that nothing in this declaration can preclude the Duke of Monmouth, or any other true Englishman, from inquiring, when time serveth, by legal and due ways, into the truth or falsehood of the King's marriage with Mrs. Walters. The writer proceeds, "And, my lord, is it not strange, if there never was any such marriage, that Mrs. Walters should, not only when in travail with the said Duke (of Monmouth), but at many other times, particularly in her last hours, when in the prospect of approaching death and ensuing judgment, affirm it with that positiveness which she did? And is it not more surprising, if there had been no such marriage, that Dr. Fuller, late Bishop of Lincoln, should so often, and *in Verbo Sacerdotis*, declare to divers worthy persons, that he married them." Nay, what should bias the innkeeper at Liege to make it the great mystery with which he entertained his English guests, that the marriage was celebrated and

consummated in his house, and that both he and his wife were eye and ear witnesses of it.

Many other extraordinary and positive assertions are made in this curious pamphlet. How many honest men may, by believing such artful publications, have been led into faction and rebellion! Pamphlets then did what newspapers do in the present day. Though newspapers existed at this period, they contained nothing more than a series of paragraphs of foreign and domestic news.

The publication of the King's declaration, that he never had married Lucy Barlow, was a great blow to the Duke of Monmouth's party. His Mentor, the Earl of Shaftesbury, ever ready to advance his cause, proceeded, June 26., to Westminster Hall, in company with the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord Grey of Werke, Lord Gerard of Brandon, the Lords Russell and Cavendish, nine commoners, and the notorious Titus Oates, and presented James Duke of York as a papist, and advised them to indict the Duchess of Portsmouth as a national nuisance. The chief justice, fearing the consequences, dismissed the grand jury before they had finished their presentment.* In "*Absalom's Conspiracy*, or the *Tragedy of Treason*," London, 1680, fol., two pages, appears the prototype of Dryden's poem. Absalom, the Duke of Monmouth, is warned to beware of Achitophel, the Earl of Shaftesbury. His arts to acquire popularity are severely censured, and he is charged with stealing away the hearts of the people from their lawful king, his father and sovereign.

The Duke of Monmouth was under the guidance of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who has incurred the censure

* Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.

of most men. A living historian* deems it to have "been the great error of those who withstood the arbitrary councils of Charles II., to have admitted into their closest confidence, and in a considerable degree to the management of their party, a man so destitute of all honest principle as the Earl of Shaftesbury. Under his contaminating influence, their passions became more untractable, their connections more seditious and democratical, their schemes more revolutionary, and they broke away more and more from the line of national opinion, till a fatal reaction involved themselves in ruin, and exposed the cause of public liberty to its most imminent peril. The countenance and support of Shaftesbury, brought forward that unconstitutional and most impolitic scheme of the Duke of Monmouth's succession."

The attempt to make a son of Lucy Walter's king of England, was alike offensive to the pride of the nobles, and to the moral feeling of the middle class. The old cavalier party, the great majority of the landed gentry, the clergy, and the universities almost to a man, began to draw together, and to form in close array round the throne.†

* Mr. Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England.

† Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, Review of Sir J. Mackintosh's Hist. of the Revolution.

CHAPTER VII.

The Duke of Monmouth's PROGRESS. — Sets out for the West. — Advised by Shaftesbury. — Dryden's lines. — The poet makes the progress to be preparatory to resistance to the Government. — Monmouth visits Longleate House, the seat of Thomas Thynne, Esq. — Memoir of this gentleman. — Visit to White Lackington House, the seat of George Speke, Esq. — Passes through Ilchester. — Visits Brimpton House, the seat of Sir John Sydenham. — Visits Barrington Court, the seat of William Strode, Esq. — Proceeds through Chard to Ford Abbey, the seat of Edmund Prideaux, Esq. — Dines at Ilminster. — Returns to White Lackington House. — Junkets in Hinton Park. — A girl affected with the king's evil rushes at the Duke to touch his hand. — Handbill attesting her cure. — Touching for the king's evil described. — The Duke proceeds to Colyton, to the house of Sir Walter Yonge. — Visits Otterton House, the seat of the Duke family. — Anecdote of Mr. Duke and the judges of assize. — The Duke arrives in Exeter. — His reception there. — Returns to White Lackington House. — Visit to Michael Harvey, Esq., at Clifton House, near Yeovil. — Returns to Longleate House. — This progress one of the opportunities neglected by Monmouth, according to Shaftesbury.

WHILE the summer of 1680 was passing away amidst the hostile preparations of both parties, the Duke of Monmouth set out upon his memorable progress into the west of England. His Grace journeyed as a man of pleasure, who accepted the hospitality of his distinguished friends, but never expressly assumed the political character. His visits were exclusively to the seats of gentlemen of the country party, who, if in parliament, owed their seats to their provincial importance, as distinguished from courtiers, lawyers, and dependants on the nobility. The gentlemen of the Court party shrunk from contact with one whose connection with the opposition and democratic members was so notorious.

Such a kind of triumphal procession gave just offence to sober-minded patriots, who knew where the true hopes

of public liberty were anchored.* The Earl of Shaftesbury is believed to have recommended such a mode of acquiring popularity for the Duke of Monmouth, and through him for the party that had adopted him. Unlike a modern political agitator, who would visit town after town, holding out exaggerated expectations of good things to come, if his particular views or system should be adopted; disseminating artful sophisms and dispersing tracts in which all the problematical good was set forth and none of the inevitable evil, the Duke of Monmouth aimed at popularity through the favour of his fine person, engaging address and reputation, as the Protestant champion. The poet Dryden thus alludes to the arts which Absalom displayed: —

> Impatient of high hopes, urg'd with renown,
> And fir'd with near possession of a crown,
> Th' admiring crowd are dazzled with surprise,
> And on his goodly person feed their eyes.
> His joy conceal'd, he sets himself to show;
> On each side bowing popularly low:
> His looks, his gestures, and his words he frames,
> And with familiar ease repeats their names.
> Thus form'd by nature, furnish'd out with arts,
> He glides unfelt into their secret hearts.†

The same poet in other lines gives an opinion that the Earl of Shaftesbury meditated resistance to the government, and sent his pupil to sound his friends and pave the way for rebellion:

> This moving court that caught the people's eyes,
> And seem'd but pomp, did other ends disguise:
> Achitophel had form'd it, with intent
> To sound the depths, and fathom where it went
> The people's hearts, distinguish friends from foes;
> And try their strength before they came to blows.†

* Hallam, Constit. Hist.

† Poem of Absalom and Achitophel.

These lines must not be interpreted to have been prophetic of the rebellion in the west, which afterwards took place. The poet concluded that Shaftesbury and his *protégé*, the Duke of Monmouth, meditated resistance to the existing government. The course of affairs nearly led to civil commotion. The progress had most probably this effect; that when a rebellion was hastily determined upon, the reception given so short a time before, and the intimacies formed by the Duke of Monmouth caused him to decide in favour of the west of England.*

In August 1680, the Duke of Monmouth went into the country to divert himself, visiting several gentlemen in the west of England, by whom he was received and entertained with a gallantry suitable to the greatness of his birth, and the relation in which he stood with his Majesty; incredible numbers of people flocking from all the adjacent parts to see this great champion of the English nation, who had been so successful against both the Dutch, French and Scots. He went first into Wiltshire and was pleased to honour the worthy squire Thynne with his company for some days.

Thomas Thynne, Esq. of Longleate house, (the first well built house in England, begun in 1567, finished in 1579,) was member for Wiltshire in four parliaments, and one of those who presented the Duke of York. From him the present Marquis of Bath is descended. He was named "Tom of Ten thousand," from his uncommon benevolence and hospitality. He made the new lane to Frome, planted the elms and made it a good hard way, an unusual benefit in those days. A great friendship existed between this whig gentleman and the Duke of Monmouth: who received from Mr. Thynne, as a present, his fine set of Oldenburg coach-horses. His

* For an account, see the "Heroic Life," &c. &c.; Savage's edition of Dr. Toulmin's History of Taunton contains many useful notes upon the houses and gentry visited.

reception of the Duke procured him a place in Dryden's poem, under the name of Issachar.

> He now begins his progress to ordain
> With chariots, horsemen and a numerous train:
> From east to west his glories he displays,
> And, like the sun, the promis'd land surveys.
> Fame runs before him as the morning star,
> And shouts of joy salute him from afar:
> Each house receives him as a guardian god,
> And consecrates the place of his abode.
> But hospitable treats did most commend
> Wise ISSACHAR, his wealthy western friend.

An account of the dreadful end that befell this excellent gentleman soon after will find excuse in the fact that the Duke of Monmouth was nearly involved in the same destruction.

On Sunday, February 12. 1682, the Duke of Monmouth accompanied his friend, Mr. Thomas Thynne, in his carriage in a drive round Hyde Park.— Mr. Thynne had married Lady Ogle. This lady was Lady Elizabeth Percy, the last heiress of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, who agreeably with the practice of this period, was united in marriage as a child to Henry Cavendish, Earl of Ogle, the saddest creature of all things, and as ugly as any thing youug could be, son and heir of Henry Duke of Newcastle. While still a child, Lord Ogle died: she was then married to Mr. Thynne, with an understanding that they were not to live together for the consummation of the match till a year had elapsed. She was betrayed by her grandmother, the countess of Northumberland and Col. Bret. The Duke of Monmouth was instrumental in making up the match for his friend. The Earl of Essex was scandalized about it; but declared he knew nothing of the match.* Lady Ogle, after the marriage with Mr. Thynne repented of the match, and fled to Holland, under the conduct of Lady Temple. Her escape, November 12. 1681, was the great subject of conversation of the town.

Count Coningsmark, a Swedish nobleman (brother of the supposed gallant of Sophia of Tell), aspired to the lady's hand, and found a successful rival in Mr. Thynne. To return to the evening drive. Just after the Duke of Monmouth had been set down, about eight in the evening, between St. Alban's and Suffolk Street in Pall Mall, three ruffians, who had been looking for

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* Evelyn's Diary.

Mr. Thynne, rode up, and one of them discharged a blunderbuss, from which five bullets lodged in that gentleman's body. The Duke of Monmouth, who had this narrow escape, hastened to his friend, and staid with him till his decease the next morning. The Duke's man Gibbons being dispatched to Gravesend, there arrested Count Coningsmark. Christ Vratz, John Stern, and George Borosky, were soon after secured. Borosky, in his examination before the magistrate, declared that he was sent for from abroad by Count Coningsmark to kill Mr. Thynne. The judge would not allow the magistrate to read the examination of the prisoners before him at the trial of Count Coningsmark, who was in consequence acquitted.* The King was desirous to save him. The three hired assassins, if the expression be correct, for Captain Vratz served the Count out of friendship—were found guilty, and were executed in Pall Mall. Vratz had a pedigree. He died in the belief "that God would deal with him like a gentleman;"† in other words, he fully believed that his pedigree would cause the Almighty to make a distinction between himself and his fellow assassins, as an earthly king had done. This circumstance had operated to a great extent in his favour. It caused him to be spared from being hung in chains like the others; and the King allowed his body to be embalmed, and sent in an honourable manner to his own country!‡ The story of the murder of Mr. Thynne is well told by a relievo in marble upon his tomb in Westminster Abbey. Grainger states, that Count Coningsmark was a native of Dresden, and that William Earl of Devonshire, who was firmly persuaded of his guilt, sent the count a challenge which was accepted; but the Count did not meet his adversary on Calais sands. Coningsmark allowed the murder of Mr. Thynne was a stain on his blood; but such as a good action in the wars, or a lodging on the counterscarp would easily wash out. He was killed in a quarrel in Hungary in 1686, in the thirty-first year of his age. The Earl of Devonshire inspired Dryden with fear, as being one who would not put up with any affront. He thus remained the only anti-courtier that the poet did not lash. The lady was thus twice "a virgin widow at sixteen." In three months she married the proud Duke of Somerset. As Duchess, she caused Swift to lose the bishopric to which he was nominated, by throwing herself at the Queen's feet, and showing her some lines in a very gross libel by Swift:—

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* Howell's State Trials, ix. 34 Charles II.

† Evelyn's Diary, i. 542.

‡ Ibid.

> And, dear England, if ought I understand,
> Beware of Carrots, from Northumberland;
> Carrots sown Thynne, a deep root may get,
> If so be they are in Somer set;
> Their Conyngs mark thou, for I have been told
> They assassine when young, and poison when old.
> &c. &c.

Such was literature at this period; so aggressive and personal.

To return to the Duke of Monmouth's progress. The Earl of Conway directed the Earl of Pembroke, November 19. 1681, to remove Thomas Thynne, Esq. from the command of a regiment of horse of the Wiltshire militia, and confer the same upon Colonel Penruddock.*

From Longleate the Duke of Monmouth went to White Lackington House, the seat of George Speke, Esq., in which progress he was caressed with the joyful acclamations of the country people, who came from all parts twenty miles about, the lanes and hedges being every where lined with men, women, and children, who, with incessant shouts, cried, "God bless King Charles and the Protestant Duke." In some towns and parishes through which he passed, they strewed the streets and highways where he was to pass with herbs and flowers, especially at Ilchester and South Petherton, others presenting him with bottles of wine.†

As the Duke passed through Ilchester with some

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Coll. Domestic. ii. *56*.

† Within sixty years, strong beer was set upon the tables of some of the first people in Somersetshire, in decanters. At hunting parties, after the toasts had been drunk in strong beer, wine was introduced as a kind of cordial for those whose strength of head allowed them to take any thing more. Some curious old decanters are preserved at Hinton House, the seat of the Earl Poulett, in which strong beer was set upon the table.

thousands on horseback, Whiting the quaker stood with many others of the same sect, with their hats on, in the Friary Gate. The Duke, taking notice of so many quakers, stopped, and took off his hat to them. One friend, John Anderdon, had a mind to speak to his Grace, but had a stop in his mind, lest there should be an ill use made of it, in applying to him, and making him too popular; the Court having a watchful eye over Monmouth. Friend Whiting, speaking for himself and companions on this exciting occasion, is chargeable with being sensible of the "sweet regard of princes." Though the friends kept clear of the Court spies, they owned, "however, they could not but have a respect to the Duke for his affability."*

When the Duke came within ten miles of White Lackington House, which is one mile distant from Ilminster, he was met by two thousand persons on horseback, whose number still increased as they drew nearer to Mr. Speke's. When the company arrived there, they were computed to amount to twenty thousand. To admit so large a multitude, several perches of the park paling were taken down. His Grace, his party and attendants, took refreshment under the famed sweet Spanish chesnut tree, now standing, which measures, at three feet from the ground, upwards of twenty-six feet in circumference. The old branches have been mostly removed by the ravages of time, but there are others attached to the stock which produce large timber, as well as a quantity of fruit every year.

White Lackington House is now a farm, the property of Lee Lee, Esq. late M. P. for Wells. A great part of the house has been pulled down.

* Persecution exposed by J. Whiting.

The Chestnut Tree in White Lackington Park, with a view of part of the House remaining.

On the 26th, the Duke went to Brimpton House, the seat of the Sydenham family; being met on the road by a great company of gentry and the country people, who conducted him on the way to the house, where he was entertained at a noble and splendid dinner by Sir John Sydenham.

Brimpton House is situated about two miles west of Yeovil. It is much out of repair, but is a noble pile built of Ham-hill stone. Either front displays the skill of Inigo Jones, and is imposing. The houses the Duke of Monmouth visited were generally beautiful specimens of domestic architecture. The apartments at Brimpton are very grand. Sir John Sydenham stood for the county this year. His heir, Sir Philip Sydenham, was disappointed in love, and became very singular. He squandered his estate of 4000*l.* a year, and at last alienated Brimpton House to his cousin Humphrey Sydenham of Exeter, reserving 400*l.* a year for his life. It passed by sale to Francis Fane of Bristol, and was left by John the tenth Earl of Westmorland to his daughter Lady

Georgina Fane, the present possessor. — See Savage's Edit. of Toulmin's Hist. of Taunton.

The next day the Duke went on to Barrington Court, about four miles from Ilminster, in the direction of Langport, the seat of Mr. William Strode, a great supporter of the country party. His Grace was pleased to honour this gentleman with his company at dinner, the entertainment being nothing inferior to what his Grace had met with at other places.

Barrington Court is a striking pile. It was built by one of the Phillips family, and much resembles in external appearance their ancient and noble structure the family seat, Montacute House, the work of Inigo Jones. Barrington Court is the property of Lee Lee, Esq. It is now occupied by the farmer.

The dinner hour must have been early, for the Duke reached Chard about five in the afternoon, a distance of eight miles from Barrington Court. At Chard his Grace was met and welcomed by a crowd of men, women, and children, who had not a mute among them, but were almost all made deaf with their own shouts and acclamations of joy. He proceeded to Ford Abbey, where he was treated to a very splendid supper by Edmund Prideaux, Esq., and where he slept.

This splendid relic of the old Cistercian Abbey is the residence of John Fraunceis Gwynn, Esq., and is much visited by strangers. It contains some fine tapestry. Richard, son of Baldwin de Brioniis, who married Albreda, niece of William the Conqueror, founded a Cistercian monastery at Brightley, in the parish of Oakhampton, A. D. 1133. The barrenness of the soil caused the monks to leave that place; when Adela, the sister and heiress of Richard, son of Baldwin, gave them lands at Ford, in the parish of Thorncombe, an insulated part of Devonshire, in the west of Dorsetshire, on the borders of Somerset, and distant about four miles from Chard in the latter county.

The present structure exhibits considerable remains of the buildings erected by Thomas Chard, the last abbot, which were

restored by Edmund Prideaux, the father of the gentleman who received the Duke of Monmouth.

The next day, after having been entertained at a sumptuous breakfast, the Duke rode to Ilminster, where he dined, but with whom is not recorded. In the afternoon he went to White Lackington House, where he lay that night. It is carefully recorded * that his Grace observed the following day, the Sabbath, with religious care, and went to Ilminster church. His Grace lay under an imputation of being a dissenter: hence the mention of what would otherwise have been unimportant.

While at Mr. Speke's, Sir John Sydenham, of Brimpton House, before mentioned, treated the Duke of Monmouth to a junket at the White Lodge in Hinton Park, distant about three miles. Sir John had married Lord Poulett's aunt, and sister of the first Lord Poulett, who had served against the Parliament. None of that family appear to have connected themselves with the country party, and so escaped future evils. The Earl Poulett was a minor. While in Hinton Park, Elizabeth Parcet, who had heard of the festive party, made a rush at the Duke of Monmouth and touched his hand. She was a martyr to the king's evil, and had received no benefit from the advice of surgeons, nor even from a *seventh son* †, to whom she had travelled ten miles. After touching the Duke, all her wounds were healed in two days. A hand-bill was circulated in folio, setting forth this marvellous cure; and a document, signed by Henry Clark, minister of Crewkerne, two captains, a clergyman, and four others lay, at the Amsterdam Coffee-house, Bartholomew-lane, London. ‡

* Heroic Life, &c. &c.

† Many persons now travel much further to touch the seventh son of a seventh son.

‡ King's Library, British Museum. "His Grace the Duke of Monmouth honoured in his progress in the West of England, &c."

This is an important incident in the progress. The few that had doubts of Monmouth's being the heir to the crown (the Duke of York being of course presumed to be incapacitated) felt them removed. Much publicity was given to this cure. The divine gift of healing the scrofula, or *king*'s evil, was supposed to be inherent in the legitimate kings of England, and in them only;—in the seventh son of a seventh son; and in the hand of a man that had been hanged.* Shakspeare alludes to this practice.

> . . . Their malady convinces
> The great essay of art, but at his touch,
> Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand,
> They presently amend. *Macbeth*, Act iv. Sc. 3.†

The grave piece of English court mumming, the touching for the king's evil, commenced in the days of Edward the Confessor.

When the set day arrived for the performance of this miracle the King was seated in state in the banqueting-house, and the patients were led up to the throne by the physicians. The King then stroked their faces or cheeks with both hands as they knelt, while a chaplain, standing by in full canonicals, repeated over each that passage of Scripture, "He put his hands upon them and healed them." When they had all been touched or stroked in this manner, another chaplain, kneeling, and having angel-pieces of gold, so-called from the figure of an angel upon them, strung on white ribbons on his arm, delivered them one by one to his Majesty, who put them upon the necks of the persons touched as they

* Quarterly Review, December, 1842.

† See Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery, by Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, 1844.

passed before him, while the first chaplain repeated the passage, "That is the true light which came into the world." As the reading of a gospel commenced the service, an epistle concluded it, with the prayers for the sick, a little altered from the liturgy, and the blessing, after which the lord chamberlain and controller of the household brought a basin, ewer, and towel, for the king to wash his hands.* The service used is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, printed at Oxford, 1719. Though it was retained in a Prayer Book printed in the 5th and 6th years of the reign of George I., it is said that Queen Anne was the last who touched for the cure of the evil. †

Some came for the money received. Gemelli records that 1600 persons offered themselves to Louis XIV. on Easter Sunday. Each French patient received fifteen sous, and each stranger thirty, after having been touched.† Charles II., in twenty-two years, touched 92,107 scrofulous persons. Wiseman, the serjeant-surgeon, said the king cured more in one year than all the surgeons in London in an age. Brown, a great surgeon, says, Cromwell tried, but the practice failed at his hands.* This circumstance made the cure performed by the Duke of Monmouth more important. It is doubly curious, as Sir Walter Scott, in his edition of Lord Somers's Tracts, asserts, that the result of touching for the king's evil is not recorded. Thomas Rosewell was found guilty four years after this time for having said that the king could not cure the evil. He was afterwards pardoned.* The kings of England, by a proclamation of 25th of March, 14 James I., would not permit any resort to them for these miraculous cures in the summer-time. And by

* Evelyn's Diary. † Howell's State Trials.

another proclamation, 18th of June, 1626, no person was allowed to come without a proper certificate that he had not been before. Some patients had endeavoured to get the bit of gold more than once.*

The mercurial Charles II. was wont to laugh heartily, even in church, when an anthem was sung out of tune, or a court vice preached at †: how he was able to preserve the needful gravity during this absurd ceremony is not easy to understand. The popular belief in its efficacy was as strong during his reign as it had ever been during the darkest ages. A disastrous proof of this was afforded on one occasion, when the crowd of people with their diseased children was so great at the court surgeon's door, applying for tickets to be admitted to Whitehall, that six or seven persons were pressed to death in the confusion. ‡

Some believers in the effects of Mesmerism, or animal magnetism, fancy the cure in Hinton Park may have been effected by this agency. Can the minister of Crewkerne and others have been deceived? Was it a kind of pious fraud to advance the Duke of Monmouth's interest? An extraordinary and well-attested cure was effected at the tomb of Thomas de Bisville, almoner of St. Louis, near Cherbourg, in 1841, upon the person of a lame young woman. This may readily be ascribed to imagination, acting upon the nervous system.

On the 30th of August the Duke went to Colyton, in Devon, seven miles from Lyme Regis, where he was entertained by Sir Walter Yonge, at the "Great House." This had been the seat of the Yonge family. It was conveyed by the late Sir George Yonge to Sir John De

* Observations on Statutum Gloucestriæ, 6 Edw. I., A. D. 1278, Howell's State Trials.

† Pepy's Diary.

‡ Pictorial Hist. of England.

la Pole, Bart., in exchange for lands in Tallaton, and the house was for some time the residence of Sir William Templar Pole, Bart. The greater part has since been taken down.*

The Duke of Monmouth proceeded the next day to Otterton House, the seat of the Duke family from the reign of Edward III. to 1741. It was the property of, and contiguous to, Bicton House, the seat of the late Lord Rolle.

Mr. Duke had received guests of different sentiments and party to those of his present visitor this year; the result of whose visit may prove entertaining. The visiters were Lord Chief Justice North and all his train, who afterwards rejoiced in being well known in the county, or they might have fared badly. The biographer of the Lord Keeper Guilford, then Lord North, describes Mr. Duke as a busy fanatic, whom old Sir Edward Seymour, the late Speaker's father, used to call *Spirit Po*, that is *petit diable*, who was presto to every conjuror's nod. He describes him as a common runner up and down on factious errands, so that there could not be a meeting in the country for business or mirth but *Spirit Po* was there. The chief justice was fond of seeing gentlemen's seats; so could not with his brother justice resist the importunity of Mr. Duke to sup and pass the night at his seat, and proceed to Exeter the next day. The judges found no parish minister to read a part of the evening service before supper: their host never dreamt of employing one. He himself got behind the table in his hall, and read a chapter, and then, says North the biographer, "a long-winded prayer in the Presbyterian way. The judges took it ill, but did

* Lysons's Devon.

not think fit to affront him in his own house." It matters not how an evening form of worship be conducted in the present day, but this particular plan constituted the assembly a conventicle according to the then existing law. When the party arrived in Exeter the next day all the news was, that the judges had been to a conventicle, and the grand jury intended to present them and all their retinue for it. Much merriment was made upon the subject.*

After his Grace's entertainment at Mr. Duke's he proceeded to Exeter, and was met by the citizens, and the people of all the adjacent parts, to the number of twenty thousand persons. But that which was more remarkable was the appearance of a brave company of stout young men, all clothed in linen waistcoats and drawers, white and harmless, having not so much as a stick in their hands. They were in number about nine hundred or a thousand. They went three miles out of the city to meet his Grace, where they were drawn up on a little hill, and divided into two parts; in which order they attended the Duke's coming, who, when he came, rid up first between them and then round each company; after which they united, and went hand in hand, in order, before the Duke, into the city, where he was no sooner arrived, but a universal shout from all parts echoed forth his welcome; the numerous concourse of people, the incredible and amazing acclamations, and the universal joy which then filled the whole city, far exceeding the art of my pen to describe.† Queen Elizabeth, during her progress in Suffolk, was attended by a volunteer guard of two hundred bachelors, all gaily clad

* North's Life of Lord Keeper Guildford, i. 241.
† Heroic Life.

in white velvet, and those of graver years in black velvet, with fifteen hundred serving men, all mounted on horseback.*

We hear nothing of the Duke's reception at Exeter by any persons of eminence. The gentry of Devon were greatly in the interest of the Court. The Duke of Albemarle, Monmouth's former associate and rival, had become the Lord Lieutenant. Exeter was at this time an important manufacturing city. The woollen trade flourished in the West of England, which was then a manufacturing district, though all the business has since been transferred to the North.

The Duke of Monmouth's stay at Exeter is not known. He returned to White Lackington House, the seat of Mr. Speke, whither the whole neighbouring country flocked again to see and admire him, not being satisfied with their former sight.†

After staying one day, his Grace proceeded to Clifton House, in the parish of Clifton Maubanks, the seat of Michael Harvey, Esq. This was a large and stately pile of building in Dorsetshire, though on the borders of Somerset. It was modernised by the Harveys, who came from Surrey. A portion of a fine gateway, ascribed to Inigo Jones, is engraved in the first edition of Hutchins's Dorset. This has been all pulled down, with the exception of a small part. The remainder is a farm-house. The property has been sold by the Marquis of Anglesea to John Bridge, Esq., of the firm of Rundle and Bridge, of Ludgate Hill; the present proprietor is A. C. Bridge, Esq., of the Temple.

After dinner the Duke rode from Mr. Harvey's to

* Miss Agnes Strickland's Life of Queen Elizabeth, 460.

† Heroic Life, &c.

Longleate House, the seat of Thomas Thynne, Esq., people flocking from all the towns and villages thereabout to Rodden Hill, where they attended the Duke's coming; and after they had by loud acclamations proclaimed his welcome amongst them, and expressed their joy for his safe return, they took their leave of him, returning his Grace their humble and hearty thanks for that kind visit, and for his having condescended to accept of their plain, but true-hearted entertainment.* From thence he returned to London, wonderfully pleased with the noble and generous entertainment he had met with at the several places where he came, every place striving to outvie each other. That which made them the more joyful to see his Grace was their having never had the happiness to see his Majesty or any of the royal family in these parts before.*

Thus terminated the first great progress of the Duke of Monmouth, as it commenced, in peace. No furious partisans of the Court created any riot; the county gentlemen did not assemble to make any demonstration against one whom many looked upon as an enemy to the King: all who collected together were unanimous and enthusiastic in his favour. This enthusiasm, and the numbers who flocked from all parts, produced this effect, that when a choice had to be made five years after of the scene of rebellion, the West of England was fixed upon. Lord Shaftesbury thought much of the effect produced, which made him regard this progress as one of *the opportunities* neglected by the Duke of Monmouth.

* Heroic Life, &c.

CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1680.

The promoters of the Exclusion Bill gain over Sunderland, the Duchess of Portsmouth, &c. — The King sends his brother abroad. — Monmouth's presumption. — Charles's promises made to his brother. — He deliberates upon abandoning the Duke of York. — Remarks — Violent votes of the House of Commons. — Monmouth's reasons for supporting the Bill of Exclusion. — The King's remarks. — Monmouth assists at the trial of Lord Stafford. — Commons petition for a fast. — Bill of Limitations. — Danger of civil war. — Churchill dissuades James from exciting disturbances in Scotland. — Last votes of the "Enterprising Parliament." — Vote in favour of the Duke of Monmouth. — Dissolution, January 18. 1681. — Another parliament called to sit at Oxford. — Monmouth and others petition against the parliament sitting at Oxford. — Pretend danger from the Papists. — King disregards the petition. — Spectre appears to the Maid of Hatfield. — Jeu d'esprit of the courtiers in answer, at the expense of Monmouth. — Charles becomes a pensioner of France. — Parties go armed to the Oxford Parliament. — Proceedings of the parliament. — Dissolution of Charles II.'s last parliament. — The King's reasons for his conduct. — The tide of popularity turns in favour of the Court. — Lord Howard and Colledge are tried. — Colledge's death, and mention of Monmouth. — Shaftesbury saved by an "Ignoramus Jury." — Proceedings in favour of the court at Bristol. — Monmouth and a party visit Tunbridge Wells. — Visits a bowling-green. — Is insulted at church. — State of the West of England. — Proofs of a popular impression of the connection between Charles and Louis. — Anecdote. — List of anti-courtiers in the West. — Dryden appears as the court-champion. — Publishes "Absalom and Achitophel," November 17. 1681. — Information respecting this poem and other pieces. — Why Monmouth resigned his offices in Scotland. — Papers found in Shaftesbury's possession. — King orders the laws against conventicles to be put into execution. — Duchess of Portsmouth favours the Duke of York. — The shipwreck of the latter. — Monmouth allows his duchess to make peace with the King, but recalls his word. — The university of Cambridge beg the King to turn out Monmouth from being their chancellor. — They burn the Duke of Monmouth's portrait. — Lines. — Duke of York dines in the city. — Card for an opposition dinner. — Sir Robert Holmes proposes Monmouth's submission to the secretary of state. — The King, incensed at the insolence of the message, forbids his servants to visit the Duke. — Monmouth charges Halifax with advising the King to this measure. — Resentment of Charles. — Open conduct of Monmouth and Shaftesbury.

In August, Charles II. announced his intention of meeting the parliament on the 21st of October. The

promoters of the Exclusion Bill had gained Sunderland, Godolphin, and the Duchess of Portsmouth. The latter had concluded a treaty with the Duke of Monmouth, Lords Shaftesbury and Russell, that they should suppress all proceedings against her, and that she should employ all her influence with the King in aid of the Bill of Exclusion. With this view she was commissioned to offer him a large supply of money, with the power of naming his successor in the same manner as it had been conferred on Henry VIII. Gradually he was brought, or at least pretended to listen, to these terms. Monmouth had little doubt that he should be the person named by his father; the Duchess was supposed to indulge a hope that her own son by the King might prove the successful competitor.*

Lord Essex, Halifax, Sunderland, and Godolphin felt convinced that a party that could proceed to such lengths as the presenting the Duke of York must have a deep foundation in the country. They and the Duchess of Portsmouth, separately, and, as it were, without concert, advised Charles that the Duke of York should go out of England. A council was called, at which the subject was warmly debated. Godolphin said, "If the Duke of York does not go now, he must in a fortnight, and the King with him.† It was the next day that Charles told James that reasons of state rendered his absence indispensable during the ensuing session, which he received in despair.

Sidney mentions a strange piece of Monmouth's presumption, writes Mr. Hallam. When he went to dine with the city in October, it was remarked that the bar,

* Dr. Lingard, who quotes Temple, ii. 531.; James's Memoirs, Macpherson, Dalrymple.

† Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.

by which the heralds denote illegitimacy, had been taken off the royal arms on his coach.*

To console the Duke of York, Charles promised that he would never allow the rightful descent of the crown to be diverted; that he would retain the command of the army and navy, and the power of proroguing and dissolving parliament. The King refused the protection against impeachment,—a general pardon, which was solicited, as being unnecessary. James sailed for Scotland October 20., the day before the meeting of Parliament, under a conviction that he was abandoned by his brother. This is believed to have been near taking place. The King's embarrassed situation this autumn, and the influence of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who had gone over to the exclusionists, made him seriously deliberate on abandoning his brother. Barillon was of opinion that this would finally take place.† We have seen that James and Monmouth alternately flourished at each other's expense. The departure of James left Monmouth once more in possession of the political arena. The Whig party were not all in favour of the pretensions of Monmouth. The apology for those who were must be found in their knowledge of the King's affection for him, which furnished a hope that he might more easily be brought into the exclusion of his brother for the sake of so beloved a child, than for the Prince of Orange. And doubtless there was a period when Charles's acquiescence in the exclusion did not appear so unattainable, as from his subsequent line of behaviour we are apt to consider it.‡ Charles was greatly embarrassed and irritated at the uncomplying spirit his

* Letters to Saville, 54, Hallam's Constit. Hist.

† Hallam's Constit. Hist. ‡ Ib. ii. 302.

brother displayed. He told Hyde, before the dissolution of the Parliament, that it would not be in his power to protect his brother any longer if he did not conform and go to church. Hyde himself, and the Duke of York's other friends, had never ceased to urge him on this subject. Their importunity was renewed by the King's order, even after the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament in 1681; and it seemed to have been the firm persuasion of most about the court, that he could only be preserved by conformity to the Protestant religion. He justly apprehended the consequences of a refusal; but, inflexibly conscientious on this point, he braved whatever might arise from the timidity or disaffection of the ministers, and the selfish fickleness of the King.*

The Parliament began with inquiries into the plot. The House of Commons, November 2., passed the following votes, which introduced the debates upon the EXCLUSION: 1, that the conspirators have been led to engage in the plot by their knowledge that the Duke of York was a papist; 2, that if any violence were offered to his Majesty's person, it should be revenged on the whole body of the papists; 3, that a bill should be introduced to disable the Duke of York from succeeding to the imperial crown of England.† The bill was read a third time, and passed without a division, November 11. It was carried up to the House of Lords November 15. Charles attended the debates, as was his practice, where he heard the Duke of Monmouth, whose vote the King could not secure, speak boldly in utterance of sentiments that unpardonably offended him and James. Monmouth said he should vote for

* Hallam's Constit. Hist., ii. 302.

† Commons' Journals, October, 28. 30.; November 1, 2.

the bill because he knew of no other expedient to preserve the life of the King from the malice of the Duke of York; an expression which Charles likened, in a loud whisper, to "the kiss of Judas."* The Earl of Halifax exposed the hypocritical ambition of Monmouth with all the powers of wit and sarcasm. The bill was rejected on the first reading by a majority of sixty-three to thirty voices. The exclusionists never attempted to move the question of Monmouth's legitimacy, as Ralph infers, because they knew it would not bear inquiry.

In the little pamphlet so often alluded to, it is mentioned, evidently by way of eulogium, that the Duke assisted at the trial of William Viscount Stafford, who was sentenced to death, and was sacrificed to the excited feeling of the time, December 29.†

When we shall have to describe the excited feelings of the lower orders throughout the country, and consider the length of time they continued to be agitated by rumours that left them no repose, we must in justice make great excuses for them. On November 23. the House of Commons petitioned his Majesty for a fast, to endeavour a reconciliation with Almighty God, and to implore Him to avert the councils and designs of the papists.‡ Pamphlets, speeches, and addresses lent their aid to extend this agitation throughout the empire.

The rest of this year was spent in an attempt to pass a bill of limitations, the work of Lord Halifax. Charles would not consent to limiting the powers of the crown. The House of Commons, imitating the severity used towards the *petitioners*, arrested *abhorrers*, and had them brought to their bar; till Stawell, the chairman of the

* Dr. Lingard, xii. 244.

† Heroic Life.

‡ Commons' Journals.

grand jury of Devonshire, set them at defiance. Several judges were impeached; and this part of the interference of the Commons appears to have been beneficial, and to have been pretty generally approved of.

There appeared for several months a very imminent danger of civil war. Reresby has related a conversation with Lord Halifax after the rejection of the Exclusion Bill, which shows the expectation of that able statesman that the differences would end in civil war. They agreed that the court party was not only the most numerous but the most active.* The rejection of the Exclusion Bill by such a majority in the House of Lords, showing the strength of the Tory party there, produced a great effect upon Charles, who became less fearful of the measures which he really had most at heart. Louis directed his ambassador, Barillon, to encourage the Duke of York in a guilty project of exciting disturbances in Scotland, which seems to have been prevented by Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, who pointed out the absurdity of supposing that the Duke of York could stand by himself.*

The year 1681 opened amidst the din of political contention. The House of Commons proceeded, upon intelligence being brought from the Privy Council that Charles meditated a dissolution, to some intemperate resolutions, January 10. This was the last stage of what Ralph styles the "Enterprising Parliament." They voted that the advisers of a prorogation were traitors to the King, to religion, and the kingdom, promoters of the French interest, and pensioners of France; that the city of London was burnt in the year 1666 by the papists, designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power

* Hallam's Constit. Hist., ii.

into the kingdom; that *James Duke of Monmouth* hath been removed from his office, and commands by the influence of the Duke of York;—that an humble application be made to his Majesty from this house by such as are members of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, to desire his Majesty to restore the said James Duke of Monmouth to his said offices and commands; — that it is the opinion of this House that the prosecution of Protestant dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. Ralph observes that their parting votes, which were apparently calculated to connect and unite themselves, the city, the Duke of Monmouth, and the whole dissenting interest, that is to say, the authority of one branch of the legislature, the influence, power, and wealth of the metropolis, the popularity, pretensions, and military skill of his Grace, and the numbers, strength, zeal, and resentments of so large a party in the common tie of one common interest, had very much the aspect of making provision for a civil war.

While the last resolution was being agreed to the Commons were summoned by the Black Rod to wait on the King. The chancellor prorogued the parliament for ten days; and January 18. the dissolution took place, while another parliament was called at Oxford in two months.

The change of place for holding the parliament was very disagreeable to the anti-court or country party. The Duke of Monmouth, at the head of fifteen other noblemen, Kent, Huntingdon, Bedford, Salisbury, Clare, Stamford, Essex, Shaftesbury, Mordaunt, Evers, Paget, Grey, Herbert, Howard, and Delamere, after mature

deliberation, resolved to present a petition to the King against holding the parliament at Oxford, which was done by the Earl of Essex, January 25.

This petition set forth the dangers that threatened his Majesty's person, and the whole kingdom, from the mischievous and wicked plots of the papists, and the sudden growth of a power, unto which no stop or remedy could be provided unless it were by Parliament and a union of his majesty's Protestant subjects. Some grievances by the dissolutions of parliament and the council appointed April 21. 1679, were enumerated. The petitioners set forth that according to their consciences the liberty of speaking will be destroyed, and the validity of all their acts and proceedings left questionable, when they heard that his Majesty, by the private suggestion of some wicked persons, favourers of popery, promoters of French designs, and enemies to his Majesty and the kingdom, (without the advice, and, as they had good reason to believe, against the opinion of the Privy Council,) had been prevailed upon to dissolve the parliament, and to call another to meet at Oxford, where neither Lords nor Commons can be in safety, but will be daily exposed to the swords of the papists, and their adherents, of whom too many are crept into his Majesty's guards. The petitioners offered their most humble *prayers* and *advice* that the Parliament might be allowed to sit at Westminster, the usual place.

The King instantly* replied to the Earl of Essex, "That, my Lord, may be your opinion; it is not mine:" and soon afterwards sent the secretary to demand the names of the Catholics who served among his guards. Essex was not prepared to answer that question; he

* Collins.

knew of none: yet the petition was published in the very words in which it had been presented; and the falsehoods, no less than the alarms, were circulated through the kingdom.*

Pamphlets and broad sheets stood in the place of the daily press of this century. The whole kingdom was interested in the account of a spectre that appeared to Elizabeth Freeman, commonly called the Maid of Hatfield, January 24. This terrible apparition assumed the figure of a woman, in white, and was supposed to be the Duke of Monmouth's mother. It addressed the maid thus:—"Sweetheart, the 15th of May is appointed for the royal blood to be poisoned." The apparition said, on the following day, "Tell King Charles from me, and bid him not remove his Parliament, and stand to his council." The ghost appeared on the third day, and bade the maid "Do your message." These communications of the spectre were sworn to by Elizabeth Freeman, before two magistrates, who sent them to the King.

This occasioned another jeu d'esprit from the court party, whose spectre appeared to Lady Grey, with whom scandal said the Duke of Monmouth entertained a great intimacy.†

Charles became, March 14., a pensioner upon France, having two millions of livres allowed him for the expenses of the current year. His difficulties having been removed, the King re-assumed the tone and authority of a sovereign. His Majesty was escorted to Oxford by a troop of horse guards, March 14.* The opposition members appeared in martial array. The London

* Dr. Lingard, xii. 270.

† Ralph; Somers's Collection, xxii.; Lingard.

members, in particular, were attended by a number of armed horsemen, wearing in their hats a ribband, with the words "No Popery, no Slavery."* The Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey went to the Oxford parliament with a noble and numerous train.† Stephen Colledge, the Protestant joiner, went about with sword and pistol.‡ There was, according to North, a general rendezvous of all the desperados, who had the three m's—men, method, and money. The parliament was composed of nearly the same persons as the last. After a debate of two days, the expedient or substitute for the Bill of Exclusion was rejected, and a resolution to bring in the Exclusion was passed.

The examination of an informer, Fitzharris, taken before the recorder and an alderman of London, was read to the House of Commons. The individual himself had been sent to the Tower, which was supposed to have been managed by the King to suppress the knowledge of a design—a continuation of the old papist plot. Fitzharris, the Irishman, was connected with Everard, a Scottish adventurer, who had been committed to the Tower on a charge of conspiring to poison the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace did not consent to his enlargement till after the expiration of four years, when he turned informer. The decision of the House of Lords, that Fitzharris should be proceeded with according to the course of common law, and not by way of impeachment, set the House of Commons in a flame. Charles, well concealing a premeditated design (that of a dissolution, if the expedient did not pass), dissolved the Parliament, March 27.; the leaders were

* Lord Somers' Tracts.

† Heroic Life. Granger.

thrown into a rage, as they had promised themselves a long session and victory.*

This abrupt termination of Charles II.'s last parliament prevented the question of the succession from being decided. It is believed that this dissolution preserved the nation from a civil war, which must have ensued had the exclusion or the expedient passed. So profound was the reverence felt by many for the principles of the ancient constitution, so strong the prepossession in favour of the divine right of hereditary succession, that James would have found multitudes ready to draw the sword in his cause.† The natural consequences of a civil war were the establishment of a republican or of an arbitrary government.

In a few days after the dissolution Charles published a declaration of the causes why he took that step, and entered into accusations of the Commons, in the particulars of the exclusion, rejection of the expedient, and design of making important changes in the government of the realm. This declaration was read in all the churches, and drew forth addresses from all quarters of the kingdom. This important document was answered by Sydney, Somers, and Jones, in a joint production, which assumed as truth the informations of Oates and other informers. The plot had fallen into discredit. The conduct of the Commons, and connection with the Presbyterian party, recalled the proceedings which led to civil war a few years before. The tide of popularity had turned, and now run in favour of the court.‡

The Lord Chancellor Finch, the Earl of Halifax, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and Conway, the secretaries Seymour

* Commons' Journals, Lingard, &c.

† Dr. Lingard, xii. 281.

‡ Lingard, xii. 283.

and Hyde, now Viscount, were the leading statesmen. The Earl of Salisbury, Essex, and Sunderland, with Temple, were no longer in power. It was now believed at Court that if legal means had not succeeded, the employment of force had been determined on at Oxford. The council sought for proofs of the presumed guilt of the parties. The first who felt the reaction was Lord Howard, who escaped, from the jury not finding a bill of indictment.

Stephen Colledge was tried on the charge of having gone in arms to Oxford, for the purpose of seizing, in conjunction with certain of his associates, the person of the King.* This poor man was executed August 31.: he denied to the last any treasonable act or intention. Colledge was one of the excited spirits of the day. Before distinguished by his great zeal, the encouragement and even positive direction given on a particular occasion by members of the legislature to Colledge to act illegally, and in what must be considered an outrageous manner, completed his character, and stamped him with a notoriety that proved fatal to him. The poor fellow's dying words are curious, and truly affecting: they are from his speech at the execution, in the State Paper Office.†

"So the occasion of my coming to Oxford, I do say, was voluntary. The Parliament men, last parliament at Westminster, and several lords, dined together the day before they sat the last session of parliament, at Westminster; they sent for me to the Sun Tavern, behind the Exchange, and when I came, the Duke of Monmouth and several lords were together, and I believe above a hundred parliament men of the Commons. The

* State Trials, viii. 549.
† Sir L Jenkins' Coll. Domestic, iv.

Duke of Monmouth called me to him, and told me he had heard a good report of me, and that I was an honest man, and one that was to be trusted, and that they did not know but their enemies the papists might have some design to serve them, as they did in King James's time, by gunpowder, or any other way: and the Duke, with several Lords and Commons, did desire me to use my utmost skill in searching all places suspected by them, which I did perform, and from thence I had, as I think, the popular name of the Protestant Joiner, because they had entrusted me before any man to do that office."

Rouse escaped by the grand jury having ignored the bill. The Earl of Shaftesbury, when in the Tower, offered to expatriate himself by repairing to his plantation in Carolina, which was refused. The Sheriffs of London selected a jury who were violent enemies of the Court, who returned the bill "Ignoramus." This year proved the first in which the famous "Ignoramus juries" figured. The result of the trial was received with rejoicings, bells ringing, and bonfires, and shouts of "a Monmouth, a Shaftesbury, and a Buckingham." This trial of Shaftesbury is placed in connection with that of the others charged with intended violence at Oxford, though, as it occurred November 24., it should be preceded by other matter which is now introduced.

The history of this period, local as well as general, abounds with proofs of the reaction that was taking place in favour of the Court.

The grand jury of Bristol made a flaming presentment, April 26. Sir John Knight, one of the aldermen of that city, figured in it for having called those who voted for the members at the last election papists, popish dogs, jesuits, and popish devils. Sir Robert

Atkyns was presented for having drawn up a petition to parliament. Sundry coffee-houses and tipling-houses were noticed, "which were commonly frequented, as well on Lord's days as other days, by many schismatical and seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons; where, for their encouragement in tipling, they were usually entertained with false news, lying and scandalous libels, and pamphlets tending to the reproach and dishonour of the established religion, and of his Majesty's government, and divers of his great officers and ministers of state." The desire to establish a censorship in that city merits attention. The jury recommended "that no printed or written news or pamphlet be suffered to be read there, except such as has been first shown to Mr. Mayor, or the alderman of the ward for the time being where such coffee-house is situate."*

The Duke of Monmouth's visit to Tunbridge Wells is recorded as having taken place with the usual object, to drink the waters. Lord Grey, however, withdraws the veil, and in his narrative explains the motive, which was a desire of temporary political retirement. After the dissolution of the Oxford parliament, that associate writes that a party, composed of the Duke of Monmouth, Mr. Montague, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and himself, went to Tunbridge, where they laid aside the thoughts of disturbing the government for those of diverting themselves. The Duke and party arrived July 10. Soon after the Duke mounted again, and rode round a bowling-green in the neighbourhood. Some days when his Grace did not hunt during his stay at the Wells, he went to the bowling-green, it being the place where all the gentry of both sexes met together to bowl and dance,

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins' Domestic, iv. 86.

and some to walk and engage in conversation. At Bath, a few years after, when Beau Nash began his reign, the only place for assembling was the bowling-green. This game has nearly gone out among the lower orders. It retains its place in Normandy. The fashionables of the United States during their sojourn at the springs, ladies as well as gentlemen, play at *ten* pins, the additional pin being added in consequence of a law against *nine* pins! The Duke of Monmouth no longer enjoyed immunity from interruption and annoyance. While staying at the Wells, he regularly attended chapel twice a day on the Sabbath. One of the ministers could not forbear from some unhandsome and unworthy reflections in the pulpit; and when his Grace attempted to sit down on one occasion, some furious courtier, in the garb of a gentleman, had taken his seat, and refused to let the Duke have it again.* At the Reading assizes a person was found guilty, and fined, for having, after first drinking the Duke of York's health, drunk to the damnation and confusion of the Duke of Monmouth, the Protestant Lords, and the Protestant religion.*

The state of the West of England, then a great manufacturing district, was disturbed at this period. The turning men from their work, in order that they may swell the numbers of the discontented, and so a riot may be at length produced, if really the diabolical creation of modern brains, has been at least attributed to our predecessors. Thomas Venn, a frequent correspondent of Sir L. Jenkins, states that Sir W. Waler and Trenchard "have let fall 500 poor persons'" occupation in serge-making at Taunton. Sir William Portman, who now began to drink the Duke of York's health, com-

* Heroic Life.

plained to the mayor of Taunton of the number of poor who came out to his seat at Orchard Portman. The men of the "fanatick places of trade," began to mutiny; and Venn, who dates from Ham, 1681, hazards a conjecture that there will be disturbances from the French Protestants that were then coming over, because they were Calvinists.*

The firm conviction that a disgraceful union existed between Charles and Louis, and the shrewd guess made by politicians of the nature of the treaty, have been described in a former page. A letter in the State Paper Office discloses another remarkable instance of the popular impression that had been created respecting a secret treaty between the English monarch and Louis XIV.

Mr. Gregory Alford, one of the corporation of Lyme Regis, wrote to the King, April 9. 1681†, to inform his Majesty that the day before, "about ten miles west of Lyme, he was overtaken by Mr. Edmund Gibbons, the son of Major Gibbons, a Cromwellite, who was in company with the Earl of Stamford (one of those who petitioned with the Duke of Monmouth against holding the parliament at Oxford), and highly commended the *great treat* the town of Lyme had given to the said Earl. He said he came from Oxford with the Earl after the parliament was dissolved. The night before a damned ambassador came from France to Charles II., to assure the payment of 800,000*l.* if the King would dissolve the parliament; that Charles passed a seal on the security of Bub May and William Chiffins; that there must of

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, iv.
† Ib., iv. 46.

necessity be a war with the King, as with the late King." The writer adds, "If the said Gibbons said so much to me, no doubt he said much more to the dissenting party at Lynne and elsewhere."

Colonel Stawell, in a postscript to a letter from Ham, July 11. 1681, gives Sir Leoline Jenkins the following list of gentlemen of the country, or anti-court party.

"The great countenancers of the disaffected in any country:

John Trencher (Trenchard),
Sir Francis Roles,
Mr. Thomas Thyn,
Sir John Sydenham,
Sir Edward Hungerford,
Sir Halswell Tynt."

George Speke and his son John.

Warwick Banfield,
William Stroud,
Brother Edward (Stroud).

Colonel Stawell gives as a report that the above gentlemen had disposed of the militia as followeth. The communication contains an account of some plot.

Warwick Banfield was to have commanded		Col. Horner's regt.
William Stroud	—	Col. Berkley's
Jack Speke	—	Col. Philips's.
Sir Francis Roles	—	My. regt. (*e.i.* Col. Stawell's)
and Taint (Tynt)	was to continnen (continue in).	

The biographer of the Duke of Monmouth now approaches an era in which his Grace figures on the arena of literature, not as a writer, but as the subject of interminable prose and immortal verse. The press, that awful power, had not been for a long time idle. Numbers of the booksellers were distinguished as Protestant or fanatical publishers; and their shops teemed with the furious declamations of Ferguson, the inflammatory sermons of Hickeringill, the political disquisitions

of Hunt, and the party plays and libellous poems of Settle and Shadwell.*

It was time that some court champion should appear in behalf of the crown before the public should have been irrecoverably alienated by the incessant and slanderous clamour of its opponents. This champion, it is known, was Dryden, from whose satire extracts have been taken and applied in these pages. The task was one of the utmost delicacy. In the famous poem "Absalom and Achitophel," the characters of Absalom, Achitophel, David, and Zimri, are respectively the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Shaftesbury, King Charles, and the Duke of Buckingham. A prose paraphrase of the Scripture story had already been composed upon this allusion, and published in 1680.

The respect due to Monmouth was probably the only consideration to be overcome; but his character was to be handled with peculiar lenity — a singular fate for one the subject of a satire; and his Duchess, who, rather than himself, had patronized Dryden, was so dissatisfied with his politics, as well as the other irregularities of her husband, that there was no danger of her taking a gentle correction of his ambition as any affront to herself. Thus stimulated by every motive, and withheld by none, Dryden composed, and on the 17th November, 1681, published, the satire of "Absalom and Achitophel."

It appeared a very short time after Shaftesbury had been committed to the Tower, and only a few days before the grand jury were to take under consideration the bill preferred against him for high treason. Its sale was rapid beyond example. The poet is as careful of

* See this account in Sir W. Scott's "Life of Dryden," of his miscellaneous works, 6 vols. 8vo. Edin. 1827.

the offending Absalom's fame as the father in Scripture of the life of his rebel son. The fairer side of his character is industriously presented, and a veil drawn over all that was worthy of blame. But Shaftesbury pays for the lenity with which Monmouth is dismissed.*

Dr. Coward, a physician of Merton College, and Atterbury, afterwards bishop of Rochester, published Latin translations in 1682. Dryden left the story unfinished: and the reason he gives for so doing was, because he could not prevail with himself to show Absalom unfortunate. "Were I the inventor," says he, "who am only the historian, I should certainly conclude the piece with the reconcilement of Absalom to David. And who knows but this may come to pass? Things were not brought to extremity when I left the story: there seems yet to be room left for a composure, &c."† A second part of "Absalom and Achitophel" was undertaken and written by Tate, at the request and under the direction of Dryden, who wrote nearly two hundred lines himself. Dryden saw good reasons, in the often-exhibited favours of the King to Monmouth, for not bringing the poem to a conclusion. How, indeed, could the historian, as he designated himself, treat of future events without travelling out of his province, and assuming a prophetic spirit?

"The Medal" is a poem written by Dryden in ridicule of the practice of wearing a medal struck on the occasion of the liberation of Shaftesbury, March 16. 1681. Lee and Dryden wrote a play entitled the "Duke of Guise," which furnished a general parallel between the League in France and the Covenant in

* Sir W. Scott's Life of Dryden, i.

† Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, *in voce* Dryden.

England. The return of Monmouth to England, against the King's express commands, presented a still closer analogy to the entry of the Duke of Guise into Paris. The King did not like Monmouth to be placed in a criminal or odious point of view. The play, though ready before Midsummer 1682, remained in the hands of Arlington, the lord chamberlain, for two months without being licensed for representation. After the King had so far suppressed his tenderness as to order the arrest of Monmouth at Stafford, the representation of the "Duke of Guise" was at length authorised.

The whole character of Marmoutiere, high spirited, loyal, and exerting all her influence to deter Guise from the prosecution of his dangerous schemes, corresponds to that of Anne Duchess of Monmouth. The love which the King professes to Marmoutiere, and which excites the jealousy of Guise, may bear a remote and delicate allusion to that partiality which the Duke of York is said to have entertained for the wife of his nephew.

Carte, in his "Life of the Duke of Ormond," says, that Monmouth's resolution varied from submission to resistance against the King, according to his residence with the Duchess at Moor Park, who schooled him to the former course, or with his associates and partisans in the city, who instigated him to more desperate resolutions.

The partiality alluded to, Dryden might learn from Sheffield, Lord Mulgrave, who mentions in his memoirs, as a means of Monmouth's advancement, the "great friendship which the Duke of York had openly professed to his wife, a lady of wit and reputation, who had both the ambition of making her husband considerable, and the address of succeeding in it, by using her

interest in so friendly an uncle, whose design, I believe, was only to convert her. Whether this familiarity of theirs was contrived, or only connived at, by the Duke of Monmouth himself, is hard to determine. But I remember, that after these two princes had become declared enemies, the Duke of York one day told me, with some emotion, as conceiving it a new mark of his nephew's insolence, that he had forbidden his wife to receive any more visits from him; at which I could not help frankly replying, that I, who was not used to excuse him, yet could not hold from doing it in that case, wishing his highness might have no juster cause to complain of him. Upon which the Duke, surprised to find me excuse his and my own enemy, changed the discourse immediately."*

The Earl of Murray, having received an order from the Council of Scotland, waited upon the Duke of Monmouth, October 7., to present his Grace with the act of parliament enjoining the test. His Grace interpreted the act as requiring the oath to be taken in council, so deferred the matter until his visiting Scotland.† There were many clauses in this Scottish test which the Whig party looked upon as repugnant to their political principles. The Duke of Monmouth resigned in consequence his offices in Scotland.

The great feature in the political annals of this year, after the escape of the great Whig leader the Earl of Shaftesbury, by the favour of an "Ignoramus jury," was the publication of two papers found in his possession. One of these contained the form of an association

* Sheffield, afterwards Duke of Buckingham's Memoirs, p. 13., quoted by Sir W. Scott in his Life of Dryden.

† Heroic Life.

for the purpose of securing the Protestant religion, and excluding the Duke of York and every other papist from the succession. This secret union for a great political purpose is THE ASSOCIATION of well-known traitors, &c. &c., that figures in the *abhorrent* petitions of this time. The second paper was an alphabetical list of the most considerable individuals in every shire, under two heads, "Worthy men" and "Men worthy," *i. e.* to be hanged. Loyalty was now at its height. The list was used by the King in a way never intended by the compiler. The "worthy men" were weeded out of the commission of the peace, and their places filled by the "men worthy."*

The King, at the request of the magistrates of Middlesex, ordered the laws "against conventicles, under pretence of religious worship," to be put into immediate execution. The King also assented to the laying an information, in the nature of a *quo warranto*, against the city of London.

Charles told the Duke of York this autumn that he must not expect to set his foot on English ground till he had conformed to the Established Church. The Duchess of Portsmouth became alarmed for her future prospects in case the King died without making a provision for her. She demanded 100,000*l.*; and, for the purpose of settling this important matter, secured an invitation for James to meet the King at Newmarket, February 28. 1682.

The Duke of York, through the interest of the Duchess of Portsmouth with the King, triumphed over Halifax and Seymour. On his voyage to Scotland he was wrecked in the Gloucester frigate on the Lemon-and-Ore sand, when two hundred men were drowned. The

* Lingard, xii. 293.

Duke of York and family were again settled in the palace of St. James's, May 25. Bonfires were not more the occasion of scuffles than the conversation of those who stood round. When the Duke of York returned from Scotland, a great bonfire was lighted before the Wonder Tavern on Ludgate Hill, and some persons spoke disdainfully of the Duke of Monmouth. The friends of the latter engaged in a scuffle with them, dispersed all the bonfires between that and Temple Bar. A party at the Queen's Head Tavern in Fleet Street threw down stools and chairs upon them, upon which they made a bonfire there, and kept shouting "God bless the King and the Duke of Monmouth."* The Earl of Sunderland was taken into favour through the intercession of the Duke of York and the Duchess of Portsmouth.

The Duke of Monmouth gave a tardy assent to his Duchess to make peace with the King and the Duke of York. The bitter reproaches of Shaftesbury, Lord Russell, and his other friends, made him ashamed of his weakness, and he recalled his word.† This was in January.

When the Duke of York was at Newmarket, being complimented by Dr. Coga, the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, in the name of himself and university, he prevailed upon the King to direct the university to turn out Monmouth from the chancellorship. This in their loyalty they did, upon their receipt of the King's letter, complaining of the undutiful carriage of the Duke of Monmouth, and chose Christopher Duke of Albemarle, once a companion of the Duke of Monmouth, when in a midnight riot these two and their associates put to

* Heroic Life. † Lingard, xii. 311.

death a poor beadle. In addition, the university caused the Duke of Monmouth's portrait, which was hung up in the public schools, to be burnt. George Stepney, Esq.* lashed them for this act: —

> Yes, fickle Cambridge, Perkins found this true,
> Both for your rabble, and your doctors too;
> With what applause you once received his Grace,
> And begg'd a copy of his Godlike face:
> But when the sage vice-chancellor was sure
> Th' original in limbo lay secure,
> As greasy as himself, he sends a lictor,
> To vent his loyal malice on the picture, &c. †

One Brookes, a Papist, defaced the Duke of York's portrait in order to excite the King and Duke's hatred against the city. ‡

The Duke of York's appointment as Captain-General of the Artillery Company, and his dining at Merchant Tailors' Hall, April 21. 1682., prove that he still retained the favour of some of the citizens. The opposite party issued tickets for an intended feast, "in the nature of a thanksgiving," which the King forbade by an Order in Council, April 19. The style of the tickets may entertain the reader.

"It having pleased Almighty God, by his wonderful providence, to deliver and protect his Majesty's person, and the Protestant religion and English liberties (hitherto), from the hellish and frequent attempts of their enemies (the Papists), in testimony of thankfulness herein, and for the preserving and improving mutual love and charity among such as are sensible thereof: you are desired to meet many of the Protestant nobility,

* Who afterwards served William III. so long and laudably in several foreign negotiations. — *Oldmixon.*

† Oldmixon. ‡ Ralph.

gentry, clergy, and citizens, on Friday the 21st day of this instant April, 1682, at ten of the clock, at St. Michael's church in Cornhill, there to hear a sermon, and from thence to Haberdashers' Hall to dinner, and bring this ticket with you."* (*Here follow the signatures of many persons, in writing.*)

About the middle of May the Duke of Monmouth, finding the King so incensed at his conduct, thought fit to send his submission. The proposal was made by Sir Robert Holmes to the Lord Conway, secretary of state, who said Monmouth desired to submit himself to his Majesty, to throw himself at his feet, and to beg his pardon; but that he would rather die than be reconciled or submit to the Duke of York.

The King highly resented a message so full of insolence, and said he perceived the Black Box still ran in his head; and having thence taken occasion again to show the groundlessness and folly of that imagination, commanded all his servants never to visit the Duke, or hold any correspondence or communication with him, or any of his associates. The Duke of Monmouth disavowed the sending in his message any thing relating to the Duke of York. This part must have been the expression of Sir Robert Holmes's private sentiments.

On the next Sunday, the Duke of Monmouth following Lord Halifax out of St. Martin's church, told him "that he heard he was much obliged to him for advising the King to issue a proclamation to prohibit his servants from visiting or corresponding with him; but the advice was needless as to this particular, for he should never desire any conversation with his Lordship." Halifax replied, "Since his Grace had treated him in such a

* State Paper Office, vol. vii. art. 87.

manner, he was under no obligation to tell him what passed in council, or resolve him whether he had or had not given that advice." The Duke answered, "It was then unseasonable, but he would find a better opportunity to discourse more freely on the subject." To which the other replied, "Whenever, and in what place and manner, his Grace pleased." After blaming this hot and imprudent conduct, Carte goes on to state that the King heard of the matter, and made Lord Halifax give an account of it at the next council, and thereupon declared, "that Lord Halifax had never made any such motion, though if he had, he thought it great insolence in the Duke of Monmouth to question any of his council for what they should say to him by way of advice in council; and that to show his indignation, and publish to the kingdom the resentment he had of the Duke's proceedings, he thought it necessary to make the same order in council against all correspondence with him." It was entered accordingly, in the council books, May 29.* Soon after, when the King became ill, warrants were ready to seize the Duke of Monmouth.†

After this the Duke's measures with Shaftesbury and party were carried on openly, and not, as before, in the way of privacy.

His Grace's displeasure at the Duchess of Monmouth's having seen the Duchess of York, by whom she was kindly received, was so great that he would not see the Duchess.‡

* Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, ii. 529. Ralph.
† Ferguson, Growth of Popery. ‡ Bulstrode.

CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1682, 1683.

The Duke of Monmouth's Second Progress. — Mode of travelling. — Arrives at Daventry and Coventry. — Court party on the alert. — Saywell, the messenger, is sent down. — The Duke visits William Leveson Gower, Esq., at Trentham Hall. — Proceeds from Nampt-wich to Chester. — Stands sponsor to the mayor of Chester's daughter. — A clergyman of the court party describes the proceedings in Cheshire. Fears a collision. — Monmouth wins the plate at Wallasey races. — Bonfires and rioting at Chester. — Monmouth visits Lord Rivers at Rocksavage, and Lord Delamere at Dunham. — Proceeds to the Earl of Macclesfield's; thence to Newcastle and Stafford. — Various particulars. — Reason why Monmouth did not visit the Exchange at Liverpool. — List of the Duke's friends. — Monmouth plays at bowls, and runs two foot-races. — Arrested while dining at Stafford with a large party. — Copy of the warrant. — The termination of Monmouth's Second Progress and "third opportunity," according to Shaftesbury. — The Duke arrives at St. Alban's. — Met by Sir Thomas Armstrong with an habeas corpus. — Legal disputes. — Judge Raymond binds over the Duke in large sums. — His sureties. — Remarks. — Mad projects of Shaftesbury. — The Earl flies to Holland. — Duke of Monmouth's visit to Chichester. — High sheriff interferes. — Scene at the cathedral, caused by a sermon against the Duke, who does not sit out the discourse, &c.

After the Duke of Monmouth had withdrawn his assent to his wife's making an overture for reconciliation with the King, his Grace set out upon his second progress. The success of the first progress, only two years before, in gaining the affection of the people, and securing partisans, suggested the second effort. The pretence was to take the air, and divert himself at several horse-races in Cheshire. The intention was to traverse, in company with Lord Colchester, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and others, and with a retinue of above an

hundred persons, armed and magnificently accoutred, the discontented counties of Lancashire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, and Cheshire.

The high gentry of the Whig party met him at the head of their tenants, in different places;* and as the ancient manners of England were not at that time laid aside, most of those who came to meet him were armed. When he approached a town he quitted his coach, and rode into it on horseback: the nobility and gentry went foremost in a band; at a distance, and single, rode the Duke; and at a distance behind him, the servants and tenants. When he entered the towns, those who received him formed themselves into three ranks—the nobility, gentry, and burghers being placed in the front, the tenants in the next, and the servants in the last. He gave orders for two hundred covers to be prepared wherever he dined. At dinner, two doors were thrown open, that the populace might enter at the one, walk round the table to see their favourite, and give place to those who followed them by going out at the other: at other times he dined in an open tent in the field, that he might the more see and be seen.

The two years that had intervened between the two progresses were witnesses of a great change in the political horizon. The object of the visit to the country was understood. Thus writes the Rev. Matthew Fowler, an informant of the court. "A person of quality (none of the wisest) came to be gazed on by a foolish rabble of no quality."† In the west of England no incivility had been offered; all was peaceful. Such was not the case in this progress. The Duke arrived at

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

† State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, viii. 322.

Coventry, September 7., having been met at Daventry by multitudes. Several of the aldermen presented his Grace, according to an ancient custom, with bottles of wine, &c. in the name of the city. At night, the Duke's enemies opposed the making a great bonfire; but his Grace's friends proved the more powerful. The gentlemen in the interest of the court were on the alert, and had their meetings under the pretence of hunting and races — the one assigned for the Duke's visit. No accounts of the first progress are to be found in the State Paper Office: of the second there exists a mass of information. Saywell, a well-known messenger, was sent down. Information was hourly sent to Court. The King and his brother were the more alarmed, because they knew that the royalists had held their consultations for the restoration of the royal family at horse-races and cock-matches, upon which account Cromwell had forbidden these diversions.* His Grace was received by William Leveson Gower, Esq., the ancestor of the Duke of Sutherland, at Trentham Hall. From Nantwich, he proceeded to Chester, where the mayor welcomed him at his own house. His Grace supped that night at "the Feathers." The reception at Chester was extraordinary. The Duke accompanied the mayor and aldermen to church the next day, in due form, to hear Dr. Fogge, who was maliciously calumniated, as having omitted to pray for the Queen and the Duke of York. His Grace dined at "the Feathers," and again accompanied the corporation to the afternoon service. The lady of the mayor had been lately confined. The child was baptized that afternoon, his Grace standing godfather, and giving her the name of Hen-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

rietta. To this infant his Grace gave the plate he won the next day upon his own horse, to the inexpressible grief of his Tory enemies, at Wallasey races, to which he had proceeded with a large party of gentlemen on horseback.

The progress was viewed with a very ill eye by the court party. The reverend informant* writes, that the Duke had entered Namptwich with one hundred and twenty horse, all armed and well mounted. Four or five boys went before as harbingers. Lord Brandon, young Mr. Booth, and another, marched before the Duke as a forlorn hope, and encouraged the breasts of the people, who lined the hedges, to shout for joy at his coming, which was done in such volleys as wanted nothing but a *Vive le Roi* to complete a rebellion. The rabble saluted them upon their knees.

"To-morrow being the race day," he continues, "there will be a meeting of the loyal gentry of Cheshire, and adjacent part of Salop, upon the forest of Delamere, about eight miles distant from Wallasey race-ground. They meet under colour of hunting and race-matches; but the design is to be in readiness to prevent any ill attempts." The writer adds, "God Almighty give them wisdom and sobriety. If the Duke come (if *Wallasey* race is put off), God keep them from quarrels."* Such were the attendant dangers of a visit in this form to these counties. The loyal gentry formed a party of five hundred horse.

No sooner was the intelligence conveyed to Chester, of the Duke's having won the plate, than bonfires, and other marks of rejoicing, were indulged in. The Duke's enemies attempted to put out the bonfires, and threw

* Rev. Matthew Fowler. State Paper Office.

chamber-utensils out of the windows upon the others, who returned the compliment with stones, and a riot ensued.* The young men drank confusion and damnation to the King and the Duke of York, and vowed and swore they would set the crown upon the Duke of Monmouth's head in spite of all Tory soldiers.

The Duke next went to Rocksavage, a house of Lord Rivers, thence to Lord Delamere's, at Dunham, attended by Lord Gerard, Mr. Crew, and others. As they passed over Stoaken Heath, they were met by the principal persons of Warrington, who entertained his party. On the 17th, the Earl of Macclesfield received the Duke; who proceeded the next day once more to Trentham Hall. In the afternoon he came to Newcastle, and the next day to Stafford.

The spies reported what passed to the secretary of state. One wrote that Geoffrey Shakerley bespoke sixty ordinaries at half-a-crown, and one hundred and fifty at one shilling and sixpence each.† Between Wallasey and Liverpool, a man brought a child to be touched by the Duke for the king's evil. He laid his hand upon it, and said, *God bless you.*‡

His Grace slept at an inn at Liverpool. He was made free of the town, but did not go to the Exchange, because, as it was judged, the invitation proceeded from a few only, and not from the whole body of the corporation.‡

The names returned by the court spies of the country gentlemen who attended the Duke are—"Gower, Offley, Sir John Bowyer, Macclesfield, Brandon, his

* Sir W. Scott's edition of Lord Somers's Tracts. Heroic Life.

† Peter Shakerley's information. State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins, viii. 135.

‡ State Paper Office, x.

son, Sir Robert Cotton, and his eldest son, Sir Willoughby Aston, Mr. Henry Booth, son of Lord Delamere, Mr. John Maynwaring, son of Sir Thomas Maynwaring, Sir John Bellatt, Mr. Thomas Whitley, Mr. Lawton, and his son, Mr. Roger Maynwaring, of Calingham, — all Cheshire men." Those of Shropshire were, "Sir John Corbett, of Adderley; young Mr. Forster, of Dotayl; Sir Richard Corbett, of Longnor, Bart.; Sir John Crew, of Utkington; Mr. Bryan, of Stapelford; Mr. Lea, of Darnhill; Mr. Hurlston, of Pitton, Alderman Street."

On one occasion the Duke spent some time in playing at bowls with some gentlemen of the county. His Grace ran two foot-races of about twelve score (yards?), in person, with a gentleman, first stripped, then in boots; and beat him both times. He gave five guineas to young men to play for at prison-bars, a game only heard of now amongst young people. This was the game of gentlemen four centuries ago.*

The Duke of Monmouth was dining at a mercer's house in Stafford, September 20., with many persons of rank, and gentlemen of that and the neighbouring counties. John Ramsey, Esquire, one of His Majesty's sergeants-at-arms, arrived soon after the dinner-hour, and having made up to his Grace, announced his unpleasant message. He was received with a deportment suitable to his Grace's rank, and a sight of the warrant was desired. This was not refused. It was from Sir Leoline Jenkins, principal secretary of state.

* John Grey found favour in Eliz. Widvile's eyes: "He plays prison-bars as well as any gentleman in the country." — Eliz. Widvile's *Diary*, May 10. 1451.

Whereas his Majesty hath received information that *James* duke of *Monmouth* hath lately appeared in several parts of this kingdom with great numbers of people, in a riotous and unlawful manner, to the disturbance of the public peace, and to the terrour of his Majesties good subjects: these are therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his special command, to will and require you forthwith to repair to any place where you shall understand the said duke of *Monmouth* to be, and him forthwith to apprehend and bring in safe custody before me or any of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, to answer to such things as on his Majesties behalf shall be objected to him the said Duke of *Monmouth;* and for so doing this shall be your warrant. And all mayors, sheriffs, constables, and all others his Majesties officers, are hereby required to be herein aiding and assisting to you, as they will answer to the contrary at their peril.

To John Ramsey, Esq.
One of His Majesty's Serjeants at Arms.*

Thus ended the second progress — the third and last of the *opportunities,* as the Earl of Shaftesbury deemed them, which God had put into the Duke of Monmouth's power to save England, and make himself the greatest man in Europe. The first was the command in Scotland; second, the progress in the west of England; third, the progress in Cheshire. The not having availed himself of these, caused Shaftesbury to call Monmouth an unfortunate man.†

The Duke of Monmouth travelled in custody that night to Coleshill; the next day to Coventry; on the following to St. Alban's. Here Sir Thomas Armstrong met him with an *habeas corpus,* which, posting to town upon the Duke's capture, he had procured from Judge Raymond. A dispute now arose between the Duke's council and the sergeant-at-arms, as to whether the habeas corpus superseded the warrant. The serjeant, assuring his Grace it was His Majesty's pleasure he

* Heroic Life.
† Lord Grey's Account of the Rye-House Plot.

should appear before him, his Grace complied; and September 23. appeared before Sir Leoline Jenkins, who wished to examine him. The Duke objected, unless some others were present. Upon this, Sir Leoline recommitted the Duke to the same serjeant, to be kept in custody till securities for keeping the peace were entered into. Another habeas corpus was applied for. Judge Raymond took time to consider of it; when his Grace was bound in ten thousand, and his five sureties in two thousand pounds each, and three thousand pounds each for the Duke's good behaviour. The sureties were the Earl of Clare, Lord Russell, Lord Grey, William Leveson Gower, Esq., and John Offley, Esq.*

The arrest has been attributed to a desire to have provoked to resistance, thereby to furnish those in power with excuse for severities against his party. Others think the intention was to frustrate the Duke's being in London, as he had proposed, and for which journey thirty post-horses were bespoke from Lichfield to town, to enable him to arrive at the Guildhall, as Carte writes, "upon Mr. Boxe's fining."† This had reference to the ensuing election for Lord Mayor. The same writer reflects upon the intention of the Duke to be present, well knowing of what consequence it was to the security and quiet of his Majesty's reign not to take the course he had proposed. This censure requires some explanation.

The trial by jury afforded little or no protection to the innocent. The juries were nominated by the sheriff. In London the sheriffs were chosen by the people. The fiercest parliamentary election of our time will give but

* Heroic Life. Ralph.
† Ralph. Carte's Life of Duke of Ormond.

a faint notion of the storm which raged in the city on the day when two infuriated parties, each bearing its badge, met to select the men in whose hands were to be the issues of life and death for the coming year. On that day nobles of the highest descent did not think it beneath them to canvass and marshal the livery, to head the procession, and to watch the poll. On that day the great chiefs of parties waited in an agony of suspense for the messenger who was to bring from Guildhall the news whether their lives and estates were, for the next twelvemonth, to be at the mercy of a friend or of a foe. In 1681 Whig sheriffs were chosen; and Shaftesbury defied the whole power of the government. In 1682 the sheriffs were Tories. It will be found that Shaftesbury fled to Holland. The other chiefs of the party broke up their councils, and retired in haste to their country seats.*

A favourer of Monmouth, in a broad sheet†, asserts that some would fain render him Absalom a traitor, who is rather like the young Scipio, ready with his sword to rescue his father from the danger of his enemies, or like Æneas, ready to carry him in his arms from amidst the flames of a burning city; and who is ready, together with his prince, to defend his country, and the established religion of the land.

Here follow twelve charges, supposed to be brought against the popular Duke by his enemies, many of them arising out of this progress.

The Duke of Monmouth thus experienced the effects of the increasing energy and determination of the government. His mentor Shaftesbury lost his judgment in contemplating the change. He associated with inferior

* Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay's Essay; History of the Revolution.
† State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Coll. xv.

men, of desperate fortunes—Walcot, West, Ferguson, Rumsey, and others, and alarmed the Whig leaders by rash proposals of insurrection in the city, by means of his own partisans. The Duke of Monmouth, at various times, discouraged these attempts.* On one occasion it was proposed to lead the several parties to different houses and meeting-houses in London, where they were to be armed. The meeting-houses were reckoned to hold some thousands.† Shaftesbury even consulted with Monmouth about seizing the Tower, who rejected his proposals, not upon the merits of the abuses, &c., but because he understood what a rabble was, and what troops were, and even looked upon the exposing themselves and their friends in such an enterprize as a mad affair. One of Lord Shaftesbury's principal coadjutors says, nothing hindered the execution of the affair but the backwardness of Monmouth and Lord Russell, and who had unhandsomely failed Shaftesbury after their promise to be concurrent in the undertaking in Devonshire, Somersetshire, Cheshire, &c., to create a diversion to the standing forces. A rising was in agitation long before Christmas 1682.‡ All were not for proceeding to extremities, which caused a division upon this point. Monmouth denied any agreement had been made for an insurrection as above, and retorted upon Shaftesbury's complaints; that he and Lord Russell were ignorant what the Earl was doing, who had withdrawn himself from his friends, and acted separately. Monmouth proposed a meeting for a reunion, and to prevent, if possible, the mischief which Lord Shaftesbury would bring upon the whole party by too much precipitation. When

* Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.
† Lord Grey's Account of the Rye-House Plot.
‡ Ralph.

this was told Lord Shaftesbury, he fell into a rage, and said he had long discovered in Monmouth a backwardness to action, by which they had lost great opportunities, and that he had reason to suspect the artificial dilatoriness proceeded from a private agreement between him and his father to save one another; that his friends were impatient of delay, having proceeded too far to retreat safely, one having introduced a hundred horse into London; that the Duke's motive of action was to set up himself, but theirs to set up a Commonwealth, under which only their liberties would be secure. Monmouth still pressed for an interview, which Shaftesbury engaged to afford him, but did not keep his appointment. After many disappointments this celebrated political character fled to Holland, December 1682, where he died soon after.* When the messenger arrived in London, the Duke of Monmouth was at a dinner with other leading characters. The news threw them into the greatest consternation.†

The Duke of Monmouth's (second) visit to Chichester in company with the Lords Grey and Stamford presents many singular features: it was intended for a minor progress, under the pretence of hunting, and preparations had been made to receive the party at the chief town in Sussex, in imitation of other cities.

These nobles set out about February 7., 1683; and already approached the city, where 800 horsemen had been appointed to meet them, of which three or four hundred had white waistcoats and rods in their hands.

* Ralph.

† State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins, xv. 24. Communication of M. Massall to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Feb. 5. 1683. He had previously informed his Grace of the death and embalming of the Earl, and thanks him for 53 livres 10 sols, which had been sent as a reward.

This body of volunteers and admirers of the Duke of Monmouth, now so near at hand, were not allowed to leave Chichester. All were ready; but the high sheriff had received an order from the King and Council to prevent any public reception. This high functionary met the justices, took part of a troop, and went out a distance of two miles from the city to see what company the Duke had with him, which proved but a small one. When the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Grey saw the sheriff and his party, who had not come forth to greet them and swell the procession, and that they would take no notice of the Duke, "both swore bloodily at them." No other compliments passed. The mayor of Chichester was posted near the gate. Notwithstanding the measures taken, a thousand of the rabble welcomed the Duke at the market-cross. The Duke was in Chichester during two Sabbaths, and attended the service at the cathedral. A scene which was presented the last Sunday requires some description. Dr. Ede, a dignitary of the church, was a great supporter of the Duke of Monmouth: on the last Sunday the bishop's chaplain preached a political sermon, with what effect remains to be learnt. He chose for his text 1 *Sam.* xv. 23., and drew so full a parallel of rebellion and witchcraft, that the Duke of Monmouth left the cathedral, and many of his friends accompanied him. Those who staid cursed the preacher with bitter imprecations as he harassed them with his galling attacks; but he went on to the end of his elucidation of the horrid nature and danger of rebellion, and was followed out into the cloisters by the congregation, who repaid him with rude language and threats.* A man had

* State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins, vol. x. art. 143.

lately been murdered in returning from disturbing a conventicle. The widow knew the fines levied upon dissenters amounted to 500*l.*; so she applied, with two others, to obtain 300*l.*; and many certified the justice of such an appropriation of this money.

An attorney, Mr. Richard Holmes, being in London in December, met the Duke of Monmouth, who embraced him kindly, and desired to be remembered to all his friends at Chichester. These were to be of good comfort, for he would come and hunt there again.*

* State Paper Office, xiv.

CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1683.

The Duke of Monmouth's "Council of Six." — Remarks upon *Quo Warrantos.* — The Rye-House Plot. — Plans. — Account of. — Discovery of. — Reward offered for the apprehension of Monmouth and others. — The Duke joins Lady Henrietta Wentworth in Bedfordshire. — Lord Grey's arrest and escape. — Information respecting an insurrection to commence at Taunton. — Blame cast upon the Duke. — The Republicans view him with suspicion. — Trials of conspirators. — Monmouth offers to surrender, if beneficial to Lord W. Russell. — Attorney-General directed to prosecute the Duke to outlawry. — Halifax, from political motives, determines to bring the Duke of Monmouth into favour. — Discovers his place of retirement. — Extracts from Monmouth's Diary. — Monmouth's first letter to the King. — Extract from Diary to prove the success of the letter to the King. — Secret meeting between Charles and Monmouth. — Second private meeting. — Pardon promised to the Duke upon conditions. — Halifax's directions, and difficulty in getting Monmouth to comply. — Monmouth's second letter to the King. — King applies to the Duke of York. — Extract from Diary. — Algernon Sydney found guilty. — Interview between the King, the Duke of York, and Monmouth. — Monmouth names parties implicated. — He is received into favour at court. — Is told that a storm is brewing. — Breach of promise to Monmouth made by the King. — Publication in the Gazette. — Monmouth impugns the truth of the statement. — King incensed at his denial. — Further information.

It was after "being rid of Shaftesbury," Burnet says Monmouth chose for his cabal — known as the "Council of Six" — the Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, Algernon Sydney, Lord Howard, and the younger Hampden. These often met, and the Duke of Monmouth had frequent conferences with Argyle, the Duke judging Scotland was the "properest scene of action." The death of his turbulent Mentor did not cause Monmouth to eschew dangerous designs. Great discussions

took place in the year 1683, about the *quo warranto*, by which the charter was taken from the city of London, as other charters were eventually, from purely political purposes, from most boroughs. "The hostility of the city of London, and of several other towns, towards the Court, degenerating into a factious and indecent violence, gave a pretext for the most dangerous aggression on public liberty that occurred in the present reign. The people of this country are, by our laws and constitution," says a living authority*, "bound only to obey a parliament duly chosen; and this violation of charters in the reigns of Charles and James appears to me the great and leading justification of that event which drove the latter from the throne.

"It can, therefore, be no matter of censure, in a moral sense, that some men of pure and patriotic virtue, mingled, it must be owned, with others of a far inferior temper, began to hold consultations as to the best means of resisting a government, which, whether to judge from their proceedings, or from the language of its partisans, was aiming without disguise at an arbitrary power."

The association formed to extort from the King the holding of a parliament, and the extinction from this source of the evils which they complained of, being now disappointed of their hopes, and having no other resource left, either to secure their indemnity for what they had already done, or to carry the point which they still designed, resolved at last to attempt it in the way of force, and to raise a general insurrection in Great Britain.† This is usually designated as the RYE-

* Hallam's Constitutional History.

† See Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond.

HOUSE PLOT. In short, the association of the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Lord W. Russell, Algernon Sydney, and others, for the restoring the liberties which they saw themselves deprived of, is coupled by this particular title with a minor plot of inferior conspirators, who designed to assassinate the King and the Duke of York as they were passing the *Rye House*, near Hoddesdon, on their return from Newmarket. This farm-house was in a lonely spot, and belonged to Rumbald the maltster. The worse design was grafted by the inferior conspirators on the original plot. By means of Lord Howard of Escrick, direct communication had been maintained between the inferior conspirators and the great leaders, who accepted the co-operation of the former, though they would hear nothing of assassination. The heads of the association looked for success to their plans in a simultaneous rising in the city, in several counties, and in Scotland by means of the Earl of Argyle, who was to be supplied in Holland with money for the purchase of arms.

The arrest of a Scotchman with an enigmatical letter, June 1., was followed by the discovery, by Keeling, an inferior conspirator, of the plans and proceedings of his associates, June 12. Many absconded upon this alarm. A proclamation, in which a reward of 100*l.* was offered for the apprehension of nine of the inferior conspirators, was issued June 18. West and Rumsey surrendered, and turned informers. Shepherd, a wine merchant, disclosed the meeting of some of the Council of Six at his house, upon which Lord Russell, Algernon Sydney, and Wildman were arrested and committed to the Tower, June 28.

The connection of the Duke of Monmouth with the

conspiracy, which caused the Duke of Ormond to call him a parricide, had now been discovered. A proclamation came out with a reward of 500*l.* offered for the apprehension of the Duke of Monmouth, or Ford, Lord Grey, or Sir Thomas Armstrong, or Robert Ferguson, the independent minister. All these escaped. Lord Essex and Lord Howick of Escrick were sent to the Tower.

When the Duke of Monmouth absconded he retired to Toddington in Bedfordshire, at the seat of Lady Wentworth, where he passed most of his time in the society of Lady Henrietta Wentworth, her daughter, travelling about with her. He was reported to have escaped to the Continent with others from near Portsmouth.

Before the Duke obtained his pardon, one man, a closet-keeper to the Princess, discoursing with a chairman, who had just set down the Duchess of Monmouth, offered to lay 5*l.* that the Duke of Monmouth would be stabbed in a week; and he affirmed that any one might do the deed and be justified. He was bound over by Sir L. Jenkins.*

Lord Grey had been arrested; but when he arrived at the Tower the gates were shut, so he remained all night in the messenger's hands, whom he plied with wine till he was drunk. He went the next morning, and, as the messenger was asleep, Lord Grey called at the gate for the lieutenant of the Tower to receive a prisoner. Falling into a train of thought as to his position should another witness besides Rumsey appear, he went away, leaving the messenger asleep, and escaped to Holland with Ferguson.†

* State Paper Office, xiv. Nov. 25. 1683. † Ralph.

According to the information of Ezekiel Everest *, Lord Grey told him of a projected insurrection to be commenced in Scotland in July or August: they were to set out for that country with all expedition to join the Earl of Argyle. This movement was to be made in concert with a similar one at the other extremity of Great Britain — the west of England. Trenchard, being taken ill, could not go to the meeting at Shepherd's. He told Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Armstrong he would warrant two or three thousand horse and foot in a night's time in the West; that they were ready in an hour's warning, and would gather there like a snowball.

Following the account of this informer, we are to believe that the Duke of Monmouth was to have gone to Up-park, the seat of Lord Grey, under the pretence of buck-hunting. Upon the news from Scotland of a beginning having been made there, he was to have posted away to Taunton with fifty or sixty friends and servants on horseback, that being the place first designed to be the scene of the rebellion.

Many months before this information was sworn to before Sir Leoline Jenkins, the mayor of Taunton, Mr. Stephen Tymewell wrote up to the government, that many ordinary (*i. e.*, common) men in that town had strong beer given them daily, to be in a readiness, at an hour's warning, to fight for Monmouth and Trenchard. One Savage, of the Red Lion, was convicted of talking of rising, and of men that were ready at an hour's warning.

Everest was told by Sir John Cochrane that the Duke of Monmouth had been very backward on this

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Coll.

occasion. It would appear that the honour of being at the head of an insurrection was assigned to the Duke by others. He used such expressions as these to Sir John Cochrane: "How could he be expected to draw his sword against his Majesty? and that it was unnatural for him to do it." The Scotch malcontent told his Grace at this time that he must speedily resolve upon one thing or another. Monmouth had probably raised exaggerated opinions of what he was ready to undertake. Roe, the Bristol sword-bearer, being asked concerning the design of assassinating the King, said that measures were taken for killing the King and the Duke of York, and that Rumsey was for killing the Duke of Monmouth also, and for leaving none of the branch alive. Roe said that Rumsey added that the Duke of Monmouth hated them all in his heart, and therefore he looked upon him to be a man as dangerous as any of them to their interest, by which we are to understand the republican or commonwealth cause.

The trials commenced with those of Hone, Walcot, and Rouse, three minor conspirators, who were convicted July 12. The detection of the plot gave Charles an ascendency over the Whig party which he retained to the end of his reign. Lord William Russell, a member of the Council of Six, was placed at the bar July 13. The Duke of Monmouth, by a message from his place of concealment, offered to surrender (as Burnet says) if Lord Russell thought it would any way contribute to his service. He answered, "It would be no advantage to him to have his friends die with him." The morning of this important trial Lord Essex was found with his throat cut in the Tower. Frequent allusion to this murder or suicide—of which more will be said—is made in the writings of these times.

Lord W. Russell was charged with having attended a consultation at Shepherd's, a wine-merchant, as to the possibility of surprising the guards at the Savoy and Mews, and of having twice assembled with the Duke of Monmouth and other leaders, to consult on the most proper place for the commencement of an insurrection, and the sending an agent to form a party in Scotland, — which measure was adopted. Lord W. Russell thought that resistance to abused power was lawful. This opinion cost him his life, July 21. The University of Oxford published their decree in support of passive obedience and non-resistance the same day. But for the detection of the conspiracy, and the perfidy of Lord Howard, Lord W. Russell might have survived to join the banner and support the throne of William, whose coming Hampden boasted before the Committee of the House of Lords, "was nothing else but the continuation of the Council of Six."* The principles this party, with the Duke of Monmouth at their head, had advocated were now being visited with the utmost vengeance of the law: soon after they were to be triumphant.†

As the proclamation against Monmouth produced no effect, the Attorney-General had orders to prosecute him to outlawry.‡ Political circumstances interfered, which soon brought the Duke from his place of concealment. According to Burnet, the Marquis of Hali-

* Lords' Journals, xiv. 378.

† A remarkable entry of a conversation between the King and Monmouth respecting Lord W. Russell (supposed to be designated by the letters L R) appeared in the Pocket-book found on the Duke of Monmouth's person, in 1685. It is thus: — "Nov. 26. 29 (the King) took me aside, and falling upon the business of L R (Lord Russell), said he inclined to have sav'd him, but was forc'd to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39 (the Duke of York), Bid me think no more on't." — *Appendix to Dr. Wellwood's Memoirs.*

‡ Ralph.

fax, seeing things run farther than he apprehended, thought that nothing could stop that so effectually as bringing the Duke of Monmouth again into favour. The Marquis perceived that Rochester and his cabal had possession of the King, and were using their exertions to undermine the Marquis.* He found out Monmouth, after having sounded the royal inclination, and not only advised, but actually indicted †, a penitent letter to Charles, the merit of which has been very highly rated. The protestations of innocence are confined to the charge of intent to murder, while the participation in the design of exciting an insurrection is tacitly acknowledged. ‡ When Halifax discovered the Duke of Monmouth's lurking-place, his Grace was then designing to go beyond sea, and to engage in the Spanish service. §

The entries in the remarkable Pocket-book or Journal found upon the Duke of Monmouth's person, in 1685, which were published by Dr. Welwood, in his Memoirs, in 1700 — not, however, without being mutilated by that historian, from fear to publish passages which might reflect on certain characters, — throw light upon the affairs of this period. Deep plotting and counter-plotting everywhere appear. The following extract exhibits the King as desirous of receiving a letter: —

"*Oct.* 13. L (the Marquis of Halifax?) came to me at eleven at night from 29 (the King). Told me 29 (the King) could never be brought to believe I knew any thing of that part of the plot that concern'd *Rye House;* but as things went, he must behave himself as if he did believe it, for some reasons that might be for my advantage. L (Marquis of Halifax?) desir'd me to write to 29 (the King), which I refus'd; but

* Ralph. † Burnet. ‡ Lingard. § Burnet.

afterwards told me 29 (the King) expected it: and I promis'd to write to-morrow, if he would call for the letter at S. L (M. of Halifax?) show'd a great concern for me, and I believe him sincere; though 3 is of another mind."

An entry made the following day completes the account of the despatching the letter: —

"*Oct.* 14. L (Marquis of Halifax?) came as he promised, and received the letter from 3, sealed, refusing to read it himself, though I had left it open with S for that purpose."

The drafts of this and the second letter were shown to Burnet.*

MONMOUTH'S FIRST LETTER TO THE KING.†

"If I could have writ to your Majesty sooner, with any safety to myself, I would have done it, to have told you that there is nothing has struck me so to the heart as to be put into a proclamation for an intention of murdering of you, sir, and the Duke. I do call God Almighty to witness, and I wish I may die this moment I am writing if ever it entered into my head, or I ever said the least thing to any body that could make them think I could wish such a thing. I am sure there cannot be such villains upon earth to say I ever did. But I am so innocent to this point that I will say no more of it; for I know God Almighty is just, and I do not doubt but he will put it into your heart, that I am clear of this most horrid and base accusation. But, sir, the chief intent of this letter is to beg pardon, both of you, sir, and the Duke, for the many things I have done that have made you

* Sprat, 137. Ralph. † Ralph.

both angry with me, but more especially of the Duke, though I might have some justification for myself, that many people made me believe he intended to destroy me: for to you, I do protest, before God Almighty, and I wish I may never prosper more, that all I have done was only to *save you*, as I shall convince your Majesty, if ever I am so happy as to speak to you; and I hope you will let me do it before it be long; for I have that to say to you, sir, that will for ever, I hope, settle you in quiet in your kingdom, and the Duke after you, whom I intend to serve to the uttermost of my power. And, sir, to convince him that I will do so, if your Majesty will give me your pardon, I will deliver myself up into his hands, that the Duke may bring me to you. Besides, sir, I should be glad to have him by when I speak to you, but nobody else; and by this kindness of the Duke's, if ever I should do any thing afterwards against him, I must be thought the ungratefullest man living. What good can it do you, sir, to take your own child's life away, that only erred, and *ventur'd his life to save yours?* And besides, sir, I am sure I can be serviceable to you; and if I may say so, make the rest of your life happy, or, at least, contribute a great deal towards it. You may believe me, sir, for I do not tell you this out of fear, but because I do think myself sure of it. I do beg of you, sir, if you have any thoughts of mercy of me, that you will let me know it soon, for the sooner I speak to you the better. And now, sir, I do swear to you, that from this time I never will displeasure you in any thing; but the whole study of my life shall be to show you how truly penitent I am for having done it. And for the Duke, that he may have a more firm confidence of the service I intend to do him, I do here declare to your

Majesty, that I will never ask to see your face more if ever I do any thing against him, which is the greatest curse I can lay upon myself.

"MONMOUTH."

The success of this letter was complete, as appears by an entry in the Pocket-book: —

"*Oct.* 20. L (the Marquis of Halifax) came to me at S with a line or two from 29 (the King), very kind, assuring me he believed every word in my letter to be true; and advis'd me to keep hid till he had an opportunity to express his belief of it some other way. L (M. of Halifax) told me that he was going out of town next day; and that 29 (the King) would send 80 to me in a day or two, whom he assured me I might trust."

Charles met Monmouth in secret at the house of Major Long, in the city, October 25. He received him with an air of displeasure, but the displeasure of a parent who seeks the reformation of his child. He reproved the Duke for following counsels which must lead to his ruin; spoke with severity of the character of his associates, and left him with some gracious expressions, but still in uncertainty as to the result.*

The precise words in the Duke of Monmouth's own entry of this meeting are these: —

"*Oct.* 25. L (M. of Halifax) came for me to——, where 29 (King) was with 80. He received me pretty well; and said 30 and 50 were the causes of my misfortunes, and would ruin me. After some hot words against them and against S,. went away in a good humour."

The next day the Duke writes: —

"*Oct.* 26. "I went to E——, and was in danger

* Lingard, xii. 332.

of being discovered by some of Oglethorpe's men, that met me accidentally at the back door of the garden."

The King wrote to the Duke of Monmouth, November 2., to arrange for another interview the following night. His Majesty did not keep the appointment, owing to the holding an extraordinary council. A friend of the Duke brought a copy of an intercepted letter of one of the conspirators, entered as 50, which was rather favourable to Monmouth than otherwise. The appointment was then made for seven o'clock in the evening of November 4.; and the Duke was advised to say nothing of the intercepted letter unless the King introduced the subject.

The whole business has more the appearance of the King seeking a reconciliation with Monmouth than the reverse. The following entry will strengthen this view:—

"*Nov.* 4. I came and found 29 (the King) and L (M. of Halifax) there. He was very kind, and gave me directions how to manage my business, and what words I should say to 39 (Duke of York). He appointed 80 to come to me every night, till my business was ripe, and promised to send with him directions from time to time."

A pardon was issued to Monmouth upon these terms — that he should personally submit without reserve to the royal pleasure. Halifax was the manager of this important intrigue, which displays more policy than affection on the part of the King. Another entry satisfactorily explains the preceding:—

"*November* 9. L (M. of Halifax?) came from 29 (the King), and told me my business should be done to my mind next week; and that Q (the Queen) was my friend, and had spoke to 39 (Duke of York) and D (Duchess of York?) in my behalf; which he said 29 (the King) took very kindly, and had express'd so to her.

At parting he told me there should be nothing requir'd of me but what was both safe and honourable; but said there must be something done to blind 39 (Duke of York)."

An entry made November 15. displays the difficulty Halifax had to mould the Duke of Monmouth to his will in every point; though upon the whole we may look upon him as an instrument in the hands of Charles II. and his minister Halifax.

"*November* 15. — L (M. of Halifax) came to me with the copy of a letter I was to sign, to please 39 (Duke of York). I desired to know in whose hands it was to be deposited, for I would have it in no hands but 29 (the King). He told me it should be so; but if 39 (the Duke of York) ask'd a copy, it could not well be refus'd. I referr'd myself entirely to 29's (the King's) pleasure."

MONMOUTH'S SECOND LETTER TO THE KING.*

November 15.

"You must allow me, sir, still to importune you, not without hopes of prevailing at last upon your generosity, so as it may get the better of your anger to me. I am half distracted, sir, with the thoughts of having offended you, and the torment it gives me is perhaps greater than your forgiving nature would know how to inflict upon the most criminal offenders. The character I lie under is too heavy for me to bear, — even death itself would be a relief to me could I have it without the aggravation of leaving the world under your displeasure. I must therefore throw myself upon your compassion, which, being a virtue so agreeable to your nature, I hope your child, sir, will not be an unfortu-

* Ralph.

nate instance of your denying it when 'tis implored. I confess, sir, *I have been in fault, misled,* and insensibly engaged in things of which the consequence was not enough understood by me; yet I can say I never had a *criminal thought* towards your Majesty. Not pretending by that to insist upon an *absolute* justification of myself, your Majesty will consider, that whilst I was under the *apprehension of great anger and violence against me,* it might easily corrupt my judgment, and by seeing things in a wrong light, betray me into very fatal mistakes: but now that I have had time to recollect myself, every thing *like a fault* towards your Majesty appeareth to me in such a reproaching, terrifying shape, that I have a remorse for it, which, could it be seen, I assure myself it would move your compassion to me. I humbly beg, sir, to be admitted to your feet, and to be disposed of as you direct, not only now, but for the remainder of my life; and though my resignation is too full to admit any reserve, your Majesty will permit me to offer to you whether you will let pass any thing as a penalty upon me which may lay a stain upon my innocent children? whether you will make me undergo the ignominy of a trial before you will give me your pardon? and of what use or satisfaction can it be to you to forgive me, and yet give me the cruel punishment of hearing myself arraigned for treason against such a king and such a father? and whether my being carried to the Tower, in case you be pleased to excuse my trial, can have any effect but an unnecessary mortification of one who, God knoweth, is already enough afflicted, and some kind of blemish, too, to my family, as well as a useless limitation of your Majesty's mercy? Sir, I lay these things before you in the most submitting manner that is possible, with an entire resignation to what

you shall determine. Neither do I imagine to receive your pardon any otherwise than by the intercession of the Duke, *whom I acknowledge to have offended*, and am prepared to submit myself in the humblest manner; and therefore beg your Majesty would direct how I am to apply myself to him; and I shall do it, not as an outward form, but with all the sincerity of the world. If what I have said can move you to forget my past faults, it will be a grace I shall endeavour to deserve by all the actions of my life: and I am so sensible how ill a guide my own will hath been to me, that I am resolved for the future to put it entirely into your Majesty's hands, that I may by that means never commit a fault but for want of your directions or your commands. Dear sir, be pleased to revive, by a kind answer, the most miserable, disconsolate creature now living.

"MONMOUTH."*

Ralph says, both letters were made use of to mollify the Duke of York, who dissembled, or else thought he should derive more advantage from his adversary's own confessions than even from his punishment.

Provided with this second letter, Charles broke the matter to the Duke of York, November 22. The application on the part of the King was satisfactory in its result. An order, the result of an extraordinary council, was sent to Monmouth, stating "that if he desired to render himself capable of mercy, he must place himself in the custody of the secretary, and resolve to disclose whatever he knew, resigning himself entirely to the royal pleasure."† The Duke of Ormond incorrectly

* Ralph.

† See Howel's State Trials, copied from the original, in the King's hand, in the State Paper Office, xi. 1097.

writes that the Duke of Monmouth was arrested. The Pocket-book contains the following entry:—

"*Nov.* 24. L (M. of Halifax) came to me from 29 (the King), and order'd me to render myself to-morrow. Caution'd me to play my part, to avoid questions as much as possible, and to seem absolutely converted to 39's (Duke of York's) interest. Bade me bear with some words that might seem harsh."

Algernon Sidney, another member of the Council of Six, was tried November 21, and found guilty. The judge was the infamous Judge Jeffreys, now made chief justice. Algernon Sidney's execution was respited for three weeks.

The important interview between Monmouth, the King, and the Duke of York, took place November 25. The Duke of Monmouth came in a chair, about five o'clock in the evening, with two footmen, and Mr. Roe, to Mr. Secretary Jenkins's office, Sir Stephen Fox being there before. The secretary sent up to the King to inform him of the Duke's arrival. The King came, and was alone with the Duke for some time; neither the secretary nor any other being allowed to be present. His Royal Highness the Duke of York came, and was admitted.* Ralph describes the surrender of Monmouth to the Secretary Jenkins, and that he threw himself at his Majesty's feet, acknowledging his guilt, and the share he had in the conspiracy, and asked his pardon; then confessed himself fully to the Duke of York, and asked his pardon also. He assured him, if he should survive his Majesty, he would *pay him all the duty that became a loyal subject,* and be the *first that should draw his*

* Ayscough. MS. British Museum, 4159—4342.

sword for him, should there be occasion. He then desired his Majesty would not oblige him to be a witness; and then gave an *account of the whole conspiracy,* naming all those concerned in it, in Cheshire and in the West, which were more than those who had been already mentioned by the several witnesses. He denied any knowledge of the assassination. When he had made an end of his confession, his Majesty ordered him to be put into the custody of a serjeant-at-arms. This day the King admitted the Duke to his presence, and ordered a stop to be put to the outlawry, and promised him his pardon. Monmouth further added, that Dr. Owen, Mead, Griffin, and all the considerable Nonconformist ministers, knew of the conspiracy. The Duke of York, when James II.*, "excused Monmouth of the least knowledge of the assassination—part of the plot: but of the other part, the traitorous design to seize on his Majesty's person, and subvert the present government by an insurrection—of that his Majesty must own and profess, on the word of a king, the Duke of Monmouth made no scruple to confess his share; and so largely, too, set it forth, that there was little of the conspiracy before known which the Duke did not confirm; and many passages of it were before unknown which he revealed."

After the interview Monmouth went to the Cockpit, in the custody of a serjeant-at-arms.†

The Duke recorded the impression created in his mind in his Diary. The King appeared to him unable to dissemble his satisfaction; pressed his hand, which the Duke remembered not he did before, except when he returned from the French service. "The King acted

* Clarke's Life of James II.

† Ayscough, MS. British Museum, 4152—4342.

his part well, and I too," adds Monmouth. "The Duke of York seemed not ill-pleas'd." * The Duke of Monmouth was assured of forgiveness and favour by the King and the Duke of York.* As soon as the Duke of Monmouth's confession had been entered in the council-book the proceedings for outlawry were withdrawn, and a full pardon was prepared. To add to the benefit, the King sent the Duke of Monmouth 6000*l.* † On the following day the King took Monmouth aside, and as the Duke records, "falling upon the business of L R, (Lord W. Russell), said he was inclined to have sav'd him, but was forc'd to it, otherwise he must have broke with 39 (the Duke of York). Bid me think no more on't." The Duke's creatures in the cabinet council moved, that for form's sake, he should be, for some days put in the Tower. The King cut that off, by saying he had promised to pardon him.‡

"This day (November 26.) did not pass without Monmouth experiencing the vicissitudes of a life of faction. L, taken to be the Marquis of Halifax of the Diary, told the Duke he feared the Duke of York began to smell out the King's carriage. That —— said to the Duke of York that morning, that all that was done was but sham.§ The Duke of Monmouth made an entry on the following day, November 27. of evils in prospect. Several told him of the storm that was brewing. Rumsey was with the Duke of York, and was seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a man he loved." §

The Duke of Monmouth's restoration to favour, and his return to the Court, whether the mere result of the King's affection or opinion of what was politically ad-

* Pocket-book found on the Duke of Monmouth.

† Lingard, who quotes James's Memoirs, Bulstrode's Memoirs, &c.

‡ Burnet.

§ Pocket-book, or Diary, found on Monmouth's person.

vantageous to his Majesty, have been described. Monmouth had now betrayed his associates, and had become an informer in order to purchase his safety and immunity from punishment. However criminal his conduct, certain terms had been made with him which were not observed. His submission had been made upon a promise that it should lead to nothing humiliating or dishonourable. Nothing could be more gracious than the personal deportment of the King; still he gave way to every measure that appeared likely to strengthen the government at Monmouth's expense.* The King had truly met with the most undeserved treatment from the Duke of Monmouth, and probably felt justified in the conduct he pursued or fancied necessary in the difficult position he was placed between Monmouth and his royal brother. In spite of the promises made to Monmouth by Halifax, an extraordinary council was holden the very next day after the Duke of Monmouth's surrender, November 26. at which his Majesty was pleased to declare that the Duke of Monmouth had shown himself very sensible of his crime in the late conspiracy — had made a full declaration of it — had expressed extraordinary penitence — had made a particular submission to his Royal Highness, at whose desire and entreaty he had granted him his pardon. More than all this, his Majesty was pleased to direct that the next Gazette should announce the above facts to the world, which was nothing less than the publication of the infamy of his submission and confession.† Burnet states expressly that the King promised Monmouth no use should be made of his confession. Ralph gives an argument with Carte as to Monmouth's having seen the

* Ralph.

† Ralph, who quotes Life of Duke of Ormond, ii. 531.

paragraph before it was published in the Gazette, and concludes he did not. The Duke's pardon not having been passed in form, it was thought he would be obliged to acquiesce in the publication in the Gazette, and that if he did express any uneasiness after the publication it would be of no consequence, and that the enlargement of his friends upon bail would be a sufficient reparation.

I have discovered that the King soon learned what Monmouth said at his own table upon the publication of the Gazette, and that the circulation of his observations was made at his express request.

Mr. Hazzard, of Kensington, and Dr. Chamberlain, waited on the Duke, and dined with his Grace. The Gazette of the day being brought in, the Duke caused that part which referred to himself to be read over; which having been done, the Duke told them "it was all false; that he had been with the King about it, and that it should be altered in the Gazette of the Thursday following." He bade them go and acquaint all their friends that there was nothing of it true. Mr. Hazzard went accordingly to his brother, who kept the Rose Tavern, near Temple Bar, and communicated the above in order to give it publicity. Both the Hazzards were examined by Sir L. Jenkins.*

The publication in the Gazette was a great blow to the Duke of Monmouth. His conscience must have reproached him. His adviser, Halifax, earnestly pressed him to be silent, and bear the censures of the town. The last day of the term was very near (such was the argument used), in which all the prisoners were to be discharged according to the Habeas Corpus Act. That would show he had discovered nothing to their prejudice;

* State Paper Office, xiv.

so that all discourses concerning his confession and discoveries would vanish in a few days.* The King said the next day that Monmouth had confirmed all that Lord Howard had sworn as witness at the trials of Russell and Sidney. This was carried to the Duke of Monmouth, who denied the fact, and called Howard a liar and a rogue. This was sent from coffee-house to coffee-house by the Duke's creatures. In the mean time the Gazette was published. Till the pardon under the great seal was issued Monmouth was silent; then, considering himself out of danger, he threw out hints in conversation of having revealed nothing confirmatory of the guilt of those who had been brought to trial. The Duke of Ormond, who says the King was incensed at Monmouth's denial, so false and impudent, proposed that Monmouth should come to the council, and make some declaration which might be entered and afterwards published.

"But," said his Majesty, "he is such a blockhead, that there will be mistakes, and he will not speak as he ought." Upon this the Duke of Ormond proposed something to be put by the Duke of Monmouth in writing, to prevent mistakes on both sides. The King liked the plan, and said he would order it accordingly.†

The King scarce quitted the scene in one character but he re-entered in another. On the very day his Majesty caused the Gazette to be published he made use of those relenting expressions with respect to Lord W. Russell before mentioned, and taken from the Diary in the Duke of Monmouth's Pocket-book. That very night the Marquis of Halifax told Monmouth that the Duke of York began to *smell out* the King's carriage, and had in the morning been told by one of his creatures

* Burnet. † Ralph.

"that all that was done was but sham." The King's earnestness to bring the Duke to a more explicit confession of the plot we may fairly * and candidly ascribe in a great part to his desire to get the better of his brother's suspicions, which, if suffered to continue, would expose him to continual uneasiness. The King approved of the Duke of Ormond's proposal, but undertook the execution of it himself. Burnet says the Marquis of Halifax, who had been in the secret throughout the affair, was employed to persuade the Duke to so unpleasant an act. The policy of the Duke of York and his friends draws forth the admiration of an historian*, who perceived that either it must follow that if the Duke of Monmouth refused to gratify his Majesty his disgrace would be unavoidable, and if he did so he must break for ever with his party, as not one man could ever confide in him more.

* Ralph.

CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1683.

Halifax has a difficulty in obtaining Monmouth's compliance — He succeeds in inducing Monmouth to write a letter to the King. — Council considers the letter, which the King amends. — Monmouth objects to sign the amended paper. — Copies it, and hands it to the King. — Hampden and Trenchard are alarmed. — Monmouth expostulates, and gets back his paper. — Remarks. — Entry made in the council books by the King's directions. — The preamble to Monmouth's letter or paper. — The letter or paper. — Opinion of Lord Anglesea. — Monmouth retires to Moor Park. — The Duchess of Monmouth makes him repent. — He offers to sign any paper. — Hampden put upon his trial. — Monmouth is served with a subpœna, Jan. 26. 1684. — He disappears, and is seen in Holland. — The King underplots. — Sir Samuel Bernardiston fined for expressions of joy at Monmouth's return to court. — King still in communication with Monmouth. — The latter visits Brussels with his mistress. — His reception. — Visits Berlin. — The Prince of Orange's reception of Monmouth. — Monmouth comes privately to England to see Charles II. — April, 1685, fixed by the King for measures in favour of Monmouth. — Subject pursued. — Extracts from Diary. — Charles II. expires. — The King does not mention Monmouth's name. — Summary of the character of Charles II.

RALPH, says Monmouth, was far from being a first-rate genius; still he refuses to allow him to be rated as other than as far from a blockhead. The circumstances of pardon having been granted caused all Lord Halifax's skill and address to be required in order to prevail with Monmouth.

Persons were brought by the Duke of York to the King, who confirmed they had heard the Duke of Monmouth say he had not confessed the plot. This assertion placed the Duke in a plain contradiction to what the

King had said. Halifax pressed the Duke to write a letter to the King, acknowledging he had confessed the plot. *Plot* was a general word, that might signify as much, or little, as a man pleased. They had certainly dangerous consultations among them, which might be well caused plots. He said, the service he might do his friends by such a general letter, and by his gaining the King's heart upon it, would quickly balance the seeming prejudice that such a general acknowledgment would bring them under, which could do them no hurt. This argument decided the Duke of Monmouth to write a letter to the above effect.* Burnet says the King was satisfied. However, in the Duke of Ormond's life †, it is stated that Monmouth presented the paper with his own hand to His Majesty; and that before it was read in the Committee, which was held at the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, he made before all the company there present a like declaration, calling himself a blockhead for having been so long in the company of those that were a parcel of fools, &c.

The Committee found the paper *finely worded*, full of sorrow for displeasing the King, and of acknowledgment of his folly. The Duke of Ormond seeing this to be the substance of it, said, "that it looked rather like a justification of the plot, and to make them guilty who had assisted in all the prosecution; that it was a great contempt of His Majesty's understanding to think to impose upon him in such a manner, for there was no plain confession of any conspiracy; and he that drew it up had wit enough to know it was ineffectual, and would do ten times more hurt than good." ‡

The Duke of Ormond further states that the King

* Burnet. † Ormond's Life, ii. 531. Ralph.
‡ Ralph.

proposed to the Committee to draw up another paper, which was done, some things having been struck out, others put in, and his Majesty correcting it materially with his own hand; his object being to have a plain confession of the conspiracy, and a disavowal of the Duke's being concerned in the intended murder of His Majesty.*

When the paper was ready, the King took it with him for the Duke of Monmouth to sign. The Duke took exception to several things; but upon the King telling him "it must be that or nothing," he went away and brought it written in his own hand, yet still repeated his exceptions. One of these was, that it would hang young Hampden. His Majesty told him "it could not, nor should it ever be produced for such a purpose; but that a better man than he, Gaston Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. of France, could not otherwise make his peace, and had been forced to hang his comrades, as he, if rightly served, should have been obliged to do." *

Monmouth supped at night with old Hampden and Mr. Trenchard; and waiting on the King next morning, asked to have the paper again, and said "that he would not appear in council to make the declaration he had signed, nor consent that it should be published," alleging that he had said enough in public on the Tuesday before at the Duchess of Portsmouth's." "Yes," said the King, "you were there, with much ado, forced to say something, and did it like a blockhead."

He then added that he should consider what he was doing; that nothing less than his appearing and making the declaration in council could either save his own honour, and the truth of what he had before him and his

* Ralph.

brother declared, or justify the government. In arguing this matter, the King told the Duke, "that though he fancied there was no harm in his share of the plot, yet it was plain he had been with others to visit the guards; and what did that mean, but to secure his person, and knock him, as well as his brother, on the head?" *

In fine, Monmouth was so importunate to have back the paper, that the King said, since he was such a beast and dishonest fellow to behave himself at that rate, he should have it, but should restore the original paper from which it was written. The Duke said at first he had burnt it, but his Majesty insisting on it, and his Grace seeing it was the only way to get back that which he had signed, he went and fetched it, and the papers were exchanged. Upon this the vice-chamberlain was sent to forbid Monmouth the Court. Sir Robert Southwell committed to writing this account, furnished him at the time by the Duke of Ormond, and which agrees with the account Sir Leoline Jenkins gives of it in a letter to the lord deputy of Ireland, December 15. 1683.

The King himself does not appear to have objected to the first paper, or the declaration founded upon it. Ralph reasonably supposes that his Majesty was a party to it, and that Halifax drew it up. Bishop Sprat says the corrections made by the King were rather of a palliative than an aggravating nature, — so worded as not only to consult Monmouth's safety, but his credit. Burnet says the King was driven to exact this severe instance of obedience merely to satisfy the Duke of York; and hence he said to Monmouth, "If you do not yield in this, you will ruin me." *

The subject brings us to the use which, after so much controversy, was made of this important paper; and which, says Ralph, was possibly connived at, even by the Duke of Monmouth himself, that he might have the merit of contributing to the re-establishment of the King's repose, without incurring the reproach of being accessory to the ruin of his friends. The next day after the King had made the declaration just mentioned to his council, he further acquainted them with the Duke of Monmouth's resolution not to comply with what had been demanded of him, and ordered an entry to be made in the council books of the letter in question, with the following preamble, in which the reader will observe, that instead of reciting that the Duke had withdrawn the said letter after he had signed it, it is said that he had refused to sign it; which is a new proof that his Majesty did not care to let his council into the whole secret, and that in the midst of his concessions to his brother he did not wholly forget his son.*

"PREAMBLE.

"His Majesty was pleased this day to acquaint the Lords of the Council, that since he had received the Duke of Monmouth into his mercy, having heard several reports, that the said Duke's servants, and others from him, endeavoured to make it believed that he had not made a confession to his Majesty of the late *conspiracy*, nor owned the share he himself had in it, his Majesty had thought fit, for the vindication of the truth of what the said Duke had declared to himself (his Royal Highness being present), to require for him in writing, by way of letter under his own hand, to

* Ralph.

acknowledge the same. Which the said Duke, *having refused to do* in the terms that it was commanded to him, his Majesty was so much offended therewith, that he hath forbidden him his presence, and hath commanded him to depart the Court."

"MONMOUTH'S LETTER, OR PAPER.

"I have heard of some reports of me, as if I should have lessened the late plot, and gone about to discredit the evidence given against those that have died by justice. Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have owned the late conspiracy; and though I was not conscious of a design against your Majesty's life, yet I lament the having had so great a share in the other part of the said conspiracy.

"Sir, I have taken the liberty to put this in writing for my own vindication; and I beseech you to look forward and endeavour to forget the fault you have forgiven me. I will take care never to commit any more against you, or come within the danger of being again misled from my duty, but will make it the business of my whole life to deserve the pardon your Majesty hath granted to

"Your dutiful

"MONMOUTH."

When the Duke communicated to his friends the contents of the foregoing letter, he was overwhelmed with reproaches. Lord Anglesey sent him written remarks on its dangerous tendency. Monmouth apprehended dangerous consequences to his friends and partisans, having seen Algernon Sydney's book, influencing the conviction of that member of the Council of Six, though it had no visible connection with the plot. Young

Hampden had been set at liberty with Lord Brandon, Wildman, Booth, Charlton, and Trenchard, having given bail to the amount of 15,000*l.* He declared that he considered the paper as his death-warrant. We have seen that the King promised it should not be made use of; which he was not, perhaps, able to see fulfilled to the letter,—at all events it was to be published in the Gazette, and would greatly influence jurymen's verdicts. The Duke of Monmouth had made an entry in his Diary, November 27., that "several had told him of the storm that was brewing; and that Rumsey had been with the Duke of York, and had been seen to come out crying, that he must accuse a man he loved." The Marquis of Halifax told Sir John Reresby, that though the terms by which this confession was extracted were somewhat hard, still Monmouth ought to have submitted to the King's pleasure. The Duke was bound to the King by great ties; but by still greater to his honour, not to furnish a link in the chain of evidence against those who had run such risks as his associates or followers.

Upon being forbid the Court, December 7., the Duke of Monmouth retired to Moore Park, near Rickmansworth, his country seat, which is not to be confounded with Moor Park in Surrey, where Sir W. Temple resided with his secretary Swift. A day's conversation with the Duchess of Monmouth made him repent of his conduct, and offer to sign any paper of the same nature as that which he had signed and withdrawn. This has been cited* as a proof that he had no judgment, and consequently no steadiness of conduct. Too desultory to be depended on, as his confession had rendered his testimony in an ordinary way to be of little weight,

* Carte's Life of Duke of Ormond. Ralph.

the King resolved to proceed with him in another way, and to force him to declare the whole truth before a court of judicature.*

Unseasonable expressions of joy from all the Duke of Monmouth's party upon his return to Court, amounting to a triumph, and consternation in the opposite interest, which were exchanged upon the turn of affairs, produced a conjuncture fatal to Algernon Sydney, then under sentence, and respited. He was executed December 7. "His life could not then have been spared, but that the mercy would have been interpreted to proceed from the satisfaction (assurance) the Duke of Monmouth had given the King, that there was no real conspiracy to trouble — at least, not to change the government among those he had joined and consulted with, whatever they might intend who had (as we are to believe) a separate conspiracy against the King and the Duke's lives."

At the commencement of the year 1684, Hampden, the only member of the Council of Six that remained in custody, three having paid the forfeit of their lives, was put upon his trial for a misdemeanor, the charge of treason having been abandoned. The Duke of Monmouth was served with a subpœna to give evidence about January 26.† Monmouth was surprised at this step, but the royal promise was made to him upon a contract having been entered into, and a written paper or confession presented to his Majesty. This contract the Duke broke by withdrawing the paper; and the King felt that he was released from his engagement. The continued importunities of the King and Halifax had drawn some offers from Monmouth; but these did not come up to

* Carte's Life of Duke of Ormond. Ralph.

† Letter from Duke of Ormond to Earl of Arran, Jan. 26. 1684.

what had been required in the former paper. Ralph will not believe that the King meant to compel the Duke to give evidence.

The Duke of Monmouth saw himself surrounded with difficulties in the position he was placed between the Court and his party. He suddenly disappeared from his house in Holborn, and a few days later was seen in Zealand, on his way to Antwerp.

Are we to consider this to be Monmouth's final disgrace? Was he not pursuing a course that was dictated by the King in concert with Halifax? Bishop Kennet says, the Duke had secret instructions to withdraw for his own safety. Welwood has a passage from the Duke's Diary, December 19. 1683, recording the receipt of a letter from the King, directing him not to set out till he heard further from him. This proves that the King continued to underplot against the Duke of York, his brother, though he was constrained in the cabinet to do violence to his inclinations, by seeming to join in the persecution against Monmouth.† Welwood says, the King continued to express his kindness to the Duke even in his absence, by remitting him money, sending him messages, and sometimes writing to him with his own hand. Expediency prompted the departure of the Duke of Monmouth, who must still have retained the favour of the King. Charles had an inexhaustible fund of tenderness for Monmouth, though he continued as much embittered as ever against his party. His Majesty bade Lord Sunderland inquire, in March, if the numerous horses the Duke had left at Newmarket were about to be sent or not to Flanders.‡ Sir Sa-

* Carte's Ormond. † Ralph.

‡ State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins, xv.

muel Bernardiston wrote some private letters to Sir Samuel Skippon of overflowing joy at Monmouth's late return to Court, the King's affectionate reception of him, and consequent mortification of the Duke of York's party. How these letters came into the hands of the ministry, whether by being betrayed or stopped at the post, does not appear. The King suffered the Duke of York and party to take their revenge. Sir Samuel Bernardiston was set forth in the information as a person of a "turbulent and unquiet spirit," and the letters were stigmatized as having been written "to scandalize and vilify the evidence in the late conspiracy." The writer was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*, and give security for his good behaviour during life, which he did after the trial.

Besides the messages, letters, and money sent abroad by the King to Monmouth, there is additional evidence of his favour, in the fact that he could not bear any hard thing to be said of him in his absence; and some officious courtiers found to their cost, that it was not the way to make their fortune, to aggravate Monmouth's crimes.*

Monmouth repaired to Brussels. Ralph quotes a MS. letter from Bulstrode, the King's resident at that city, to the Duke of Ormond, that he had received his Majesty's orders to enjoin the English officers in the Spanish service not to pay their court to his Grace on his arrival at that place. But we learn from the same authority that Monmouth was caressed by the Marquis de Grana, the Spanish governor, who said, "He knew from whence the king's displeasure came; that it was the Duke of York who was the great enemy of the

* Welwood's Memoirs.

Duke of Monmouth, whom the King loved as his own eyes.* When, after a short stay at Brussels, Monmouth proceeded to Holland, similar honour was paid by the Prince of Orange. As in the Spanish territories, military honours were paid him, and every attention was shown him and his mistress, Lady Henrietta Wentworth, only daughter and heiress of the Earl of Cleveland, who had followed him to Holland. This lady supplanted Mrs. Needham, the Duke's former mistress.† The Prince of Orange invited Monmouth to hunt at Diren. Monmouth was greatly caressed at Berlin by the Elector, who said he received the Duke as the King's son, not as the Duke of Monmouth. The Duke of York complained to his daughter and son-in-law of their conduct. Through his brother's influence the King remonstrated in person to the foreign ambassadors in England, and by his envoys to the Prince, the States, and the Spanish government. The Earl of Portland told Burnet that the King showed the Prince of Orange one of his seals, and told him that whatever he might write to him, if the letter was not sealed with that seal, he was to look on it as only drawn from him by importunity. Though the King wrote some terrible letters to the Prince against the countenance given to Monmouth, they were not sealed with that seal; from which the Prince inferred that the King had a mind that he should keep him about him, and use him well. Burnet also mentions that the King gave orders that in all the entries that were made in the council books of this whole business nothing should be left on record that could blemish him. The Prince of Orange

* Bulstrode, 390.

† State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, ii. 783, A.D. 1683. Mrs. Needham had a house in Great Russell Street. From a spy.

and other illustrious foreigners believed they should not really offend the King of England by demonstrations of respect to Monmouth, and hoped for benefit to themselves when the Duke should be publicly restored to the royal favour — which it has been shown he still secretly enjoyed. The departure of Monmouth from the Hague was caused by the interference of Van Citters (about October 30.), the Dutch ambassador, made at the request of Charles. The Prince of Orange appeared to submit to the pleasure of his uncle, and Monmouth departed under the pretence of returning to Brussels, or in other words, of quitting Holland.*

Now it was that Monmouth disappeared, came privately to England, and had a secret interview with Charles, November 30. Oldmixon records the visit and Monmouth's satisfaction, but says he did not see the King.

Viscount Weymouth, in a letter, December 6., communicates the fact that the Duke is in England, incognito; but adds that most persons think his visit is rather for love than state intrigues, the Lady Henrietta Wentworth being returned.

Welwood, speaking of this period, says, — "King Charles, tir'd out at last with the uncontroll'd hardships that were every day put upon him by the Duke's *creatures*, and asham'd to see his own lustre obscur'd, and his power lessen'd by a party that had rais'd themselves upon Monmouth's ruin, he resolv'd to shift the scene; and in order to *make himself easy for the rest of his life*, as he express'd it, he determin'd to send away the Duke of York and recall Monmouth.

"April was the time agreed on to put this resolution

* D'Avaux, iv. 67. Dalrymple, 58. 74. 94. See Dr. Lingard, xii. 349.

in practice; but there is little left us by which we can judge whether Monmouth was to be recall'd to court by a formal invitation of the King's, or whether King Charles's usual thread of dissimulation was to be spun out to that length that Monmouth was to land with an *arm'd force.*" The first seems more probable, if it were but for what he writ himself in the Pocket-book.

"Its, true, the last looks more of a piece with the rest of his behaviour towards his *brother* and *son*, and more agreeable to his natural bias, which seldom inclin'd him to choose the *high road*, when there could possibly be found a *by-path* to tread in." Welwood is careful to explain that his opinion was not that Charles had any design of altering the succession, or bringing Monmouth within view of a crown. "The whole cause of King Charles's actions," he writes, "does sufficiently contradict any such thought." It was next to a certainty that all that was designed by Charles, in concert with Monmouth, was only to weaken the Duke of York's faction, which was then become insupportable, by playing Monmouth's party against it; which was consistent, this writer adds, with the only fixed maxims of government in that reign, that when any one party grew too strong, to throw in the royal weight into the lightest scale.

M. Bentinck and others of the Prince of Orange's friends publicly said that the Prince of Orange took no step with regard to the Duke of Monmouth but by consent of the King of Great Britain; and affirmed that when the Duke went over to England, he visited his Britannic Majesty in private. D'Avaux wrote an account of every thing concerning the Duke of Monmouth to Barillon, the French ambassador at the court of London; but his statements about a still-existing

connection with the King of England do not appear to have been received as correct, for he expressed his surprise to the King of France, that in England they (*i. e.* Barillon) would not believe that most people in Holland were persuaded that the King of England still retained such an inclination to the Duke of Monmouth as induced him to give his secret consent to whatever step the Prince of Orange took in his favour.

To such a conclusion had this diligent observer of the Duke of Monmouth's movements come. He had somewhat earlier in the month reported that the Prince of Orange had compelled the Princess to go to hear M. Jurieu preach,—a surprising circumstance, as those of the Church of England do not go to the meeting-houses of Presbyterians; and as this preacher had written several libels against the King of England, and had presented to the Prince of Orange his translation of a pamphlet, wherein the Duke of York was accused of having cut the throat of the Earl of Essex in the Tower.* Through the French King, the Duke of York learnt what was passing in Holland. The Princess of Orange walked in the Mall every day with Monmouth; and, during the great frosts at this time, the Prince induced the Princess to learn with the Duke to skate, who was desirous of acquiring the art. Monmouth had taught the Princess some new country dances. The captain of the Princess's guards had entertained the Duke, when the party drank destruction to the Duke of York and all the Papists. Chudleigh had informed the latter that the same toast had been given at the Prince's own table on the Feast of St. Hubert.

Monmouth returned to the Hague with a promise,

* D'Avaux, iii. 115.

that within three months he should be publicly received at Court, and the Duke of York be banished, in his turn, into Flanders or Scotland. His visit to England, and clandestine correspondence with Halifax, were known to the Duke of York; but surely the King's promise remained a secret. Charles had requested his brother to go and hold a parliament in Scotland, to which he had assented, looking on the proposal as a fresh proof of the friendship and confidence of his brother.* Such was the sincerity of a monarch!

The entries in the Pocket-book are these: —

"1685. *January* 5. — I received a letter from L (Halifax), marked by 29 (the King) in the margin, to trust entirely in 10; and that in February I should certainly have leave to return. That matters were concerting towards it; and that 39 (D. of York) had no suspicion, notwithstanding my reception here."

"1685. *February* 3. — A letter from L (Halifax), that my business was almost as well as done, but must be so sudden as not to leave room for 39's (D. of York's) party to counterplot. That it's probable he would choose Scotland rather than Flanders or this country, which was all one to 29 (the King)."

The Duchesses of Portsmouth and Sunderland were aiding the Duke of York at this time to undermine Halifax†; when Charles II., after a short illness, expired, February 6. 1685.

With the King's life fell Monmouth's hopes. He made a mournful entry, the last in his Diary of those which Welwood published: —

"*February* 16. — The sad news of his death by L. (Halifax.) O, cruel Fate! ——"

* D'Avaux, iv. 71, 72. 88. 94. Fox App. viii.
† See Lingard, xii. 349.

The question so much agitated, and with such warmth, as to the death of Charles II., whether it proceeded or not from natural causes, belongs not to these pages. Oldmixon writes that the Duke of York's party discovered that the King was about to recall Monmouth, and poisoned him to prevent his doing so. Charles called his other natural sons to his bed-side, and took an affectionate leave of them. Monmouth's name was not mentioned. This is not surprising when we consider the Duke's absence, and the position in which he was supposed to stand, — an exile, who experienced none of the royal favour. For Charles to have spoken of him in terms of affection would have been to confirm the suspicions of the Duke of York, which were already excited.

The following summary of the character of that monarch, whose name appears so conspicuously in these pages, is from the pen of a living author.* He writes of Charles II. that —

"He had learned only to despise and to distrust his species, — to consider integrity in men, and modesty in women, as mere acting; nor did he think it worth while to keep his opinions to himself. He was incapable of friendship; yet he was perpetually led by favourites, without being in the smallest degree duped by them. He knew that their regard to his interests was all simulated; but from a certain easiness, which had no connection with humanity, he submitted, half laughing at himself, to be made the tool of any woman whose person attracted him, or of any man whose tattle diverted him. ..... He was sensual, frivolous, false, and cold-hearted, beyond almost any prince of whom history makes mention."

* Critical and Historical Essays, by T. B. Macaulay, ii. 237.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1685.

The Prince of Orange breaks the news of Charles II.'s death to Monmouth. — The Duke leaves the Hague. — His letter to James II. is not sent. — Determination of the exiles in Holland. — Scotch refugees celebrate James II.'s accession. — Skelton gives the Prince of Orange a list of one hundred refugees. — Monmouth intends to visit Sweden, and pass his life in privacy with his mistress. — Notes respecting Monmouth's supposed connection with the French Protestants. — Letter of Monmouth to Spence. — The exiles sound the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, &c. — Monmouth concurs in their views. — Aygyle desires to set out immediately. — Wishes to be absolute. — His preparations. — Exposition of Monmouth's intentions and views. — Argyle jealous of Monmouth. — Rank of the Scotch exiles. — They are informed by Monmouth that he had satisfactory news from England. — Scotch and English exiles consider each other's declaration. — Monmouth penetrates Argyle's designs upon the west of Scotland. — He agrees to sail the sixth day after Argyle. — Remarks. — Too great precipitation. — James II.'s belief that the Prince of Orange seconded Monmouth. — Mr. Hallam's opinion. — Lord Rochester's letter to the Prince of Orange.—A letter from the latter to the former. — The Prince of Orange cashiers officers named by James II. —The States agree to expel Monmouth, Argyle, and Ferguson.—Our government issue a circular respecting the sailing of Argyle, and an account of some design upon the *northern* parts of England. — Followers of Monmouth are true to their cause. — Number of followers. — Colonel Skelton's futile attempts to procure a seizure of the armament. — Disgraceful mode of procuring persons to join. — Great secrecy preserved. — News of Argyle's landing reaches James II. the morning of the opening of Parliament. — Monmouth supposed to have joined Argyle. — Prince of Orange sends an account to James II. of the designs of both expeditions. — The Prince expresses his surprise at Monmouth's conduct. — Ministers of Amsterdam offer up prayers for the success of the expedition. — Further information from the Prince of Orange.

THE Prince of Orange broke to the Duke of Monmouth the intelligence of Charles II.'s death (February 20.) The Duke was like one out of his senses. He was heard uttering cries and lamentations in the small house

where he lodged. It had been reported that the Duke set out at four in the morning, and D'Avaux had discovered that some money, though not much, had been lent him by the Prince: he adds, perhaps it was for the expenses of his journey.

The Duke of Monmouth could not hope to retain his former envied position at the courts of powers friendly to the new King of England, James II. Upon the accession of this monarch, it is said a promise was sent him by the Prince of Orange that he would hold no further communication with the Duke of Monmouth; first, through Overquerque, whom he sent over to compliment his father-in-law; next, through Skelton, the English ambassador at the Hague. The Prince not only gave out that he had received some very kind letters from the King of England, but privately said that Monmouth had left because he had told him that he could not allow him to remain at present any longer at the Hague. Any thing less than seizure and delivery to James of Monmouth was unsatisfactory to D'Avaux, who writes that the Duke of Monmouth had not left, though three days had elapsed, till yesterday †, and that he was almost always closeted with the Prince. This ambassador wrote for a court that favoured James II., and hated the Prince of Orange. Though disposed to seize and dwell upon any little circumstance that might prove a connection to have existed between Monmouth and the Prince, there is nothing in his letters of any habits of intimacy after Charles's death. He only introduces suspicions of secret meetings.

Monmouth, upon James's accession, procured a letter to be drawn up by the Count de Waldeck to the King,

* D'Avaux to Louis XIV. † February 23.

in the most respectful terms, assuring his Majesty of his perfect obedience and entire fidelity, and most humbly asked pardon for all his past offences. The Prince of Orange read, highly approved of it, and recommended the Duke to send it. The Count de Waldeck afterwards told the British envoy Skelton that this letter had not been sent, because Monmouth did not judge this method of proceeding respectful enough; and that he had thought it more proper to interpose the good offices of the Duchess of Monmouth, or one of her friends. D'Avaux told Skelton the reason was that the Duke did not wish to discourage those who were in his interests, by giving assurances, in writing, of his submission to the King of England, and that he most certainly intended to take other measures.*

The Duke of Monmouth may now in strict phrase be called an exile, like the Earl of Argyle, and a considerable number of political characters, who had fled from the terror of the law. Sir Patrick Hume, upon his arrival in Holland, directed his course to meet the Duke of Monmouth at the Hague without success. The news of Charles's death was brought in the mean time, and Sir Patrick Hume affirms that all his countrymen in Holland were assured of his having fallen a victim to popish conspirators. He adds, in the resolute language of the time, "We did resolve and determine to try how far wee could reasonably undertake and porsue our clear dutty in the matter."

To continue in exile and poverty must have been a dreadful prospect to many daring spirits, who were prepared to shed their blood in the cause. A life of inaction and hope deferred did not fail to urge many to take

* D'Avaux, iii.

some steps towards redressing their own and their country's wrongs. The Scotch refugees celebrated James's accession with a carousal, as an event most auspicious to them.* Let it be recorded to their honour and consistency that they had no longer "good correspondence with Lord Grey," when they discovered that he had a mistress, his wife's sister, and not his wife, with him.† Roe, the swordbearer of Bristol, was so poor, that in order to procure relief he threatened to swear against the prisoners in the Tower. The exiles subscribed thirty guineas, and promised to take care of him: they sent him to Switzerland.†

Weary of political intrigues, which he had not sufficient capacity to direct, and absorbed in a tender attachment which estranged him from his family and disgraced him in his own country, Monmouth now determined to retire into Sweden, and to pass the remainder of his life in privacy with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth, who had sacrificed the splendour of a great name and a rich inheritance to her guilty love for him.‡ The Duchess of Monmouth was quite neglected at this time. The Duke uttered complaints of the little care that had been taken of his education, and in his disgrace endeavoured to supply the want by applying himself to study, in which he made in a short time no inconsiderable progress. He took occasion in his afflictions to inform his mind, and recollect and amend the errors of his youth.§ Passed in such a court as that of England, these may be supposed to have been many.

* D'Avaux, iv. 296.

† State Paper Office, Sir L. Jenkins. The information of Ezekiel Everest, sworn Jan. 20. 1684.

‡ Lodge. § Dr. Welwood.

We must not imagine that the Duke of Monmouth had fled to Holland till an opportunity should offer of returning at the head of a body of exiles, or that a definite intention of any form or scene of rebellion existed. Circumstances and the march of events suggested too hastily for a successful issue, unless by especial good fortune, important proceedings which will have to be described. * The first suggestions came not from the Duke of Monmouth. His fate appears to have been to yield to the wishes and designs of others. The exiles became impatient of their sufferings from banishment and poverty, and were desirous of creating an insurrection; a conviction that they should soon be disturbed probably made them so determined to enter upon some bold enterprise. Skelton the envoy gave in a list of one hundred persons whom James wished to be banished from Holland.* Before the agitation had been sufficiently prolonged to produce the desired effect upon

* Barillon was favoured by James with hearing His Majesty read from the originals the deposition of Mathieu (Matthews), the attendant of Monmouth, as to what this person knew of the designs of the French Protestants. He had learned from Monmouth that the Baron de Freize, a Saxon formerly of the Court of Saxony, which he left owing to a quarrel with a favourite of the Elector, had communicated to his Grace at the Hague, on the part of the French Protestants, their designs of taking up arms at the beginning of the summer, and revolting in many parts of France. Moreover, that they offered the Duke of Monmouth to receive him as their leader; that this design was communicated by the Elector of Brandenburg to the Princes of the House of Brunswick, and to the Prince of Orange, who all approved of it; that this Baron de Freize had made many journies into France to concert with the Protestants of the different provinces. There was nothing specified as to places or persons, so that the King of France thought the communication deserved little attention. James knew nothing further, but promised to press the confidants of Monmouth and Argyle once more in order to endeavour to extract some information. — *Sept.* 10. 1685. *King of France's Answer, Sept.* 20.

† Ralph.

the yielding character of the Duke of Monmouth the project was calmly considered, its hopelessness portrayed, and the posture of affairs justly estimated. The Duke even fancied himself weaned from a life of worldly greatness; but his views and sensible remarks inculcating caution and substantial reasons for doing so will be best displayed in a letter to Spence*, the secretary of the exiles †, a little before his attempt in the West. Dr. Lingard takes the letter to be an answer to the exiles' invitation.‡

From the language of the letter we might be led to address the Duke in the words of the poet —

"I do fear the world
Hath tried you, and you seek a cell to rest in."
SHIRLEY.

"I received both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ me upon that subject, and have done it with the greatest inclination to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither. But whatever way I turn my thoughts I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my

* Mr. W. Spence had been seized in London the preceding year, and was sent to Edinburgh for torture and trial. He endured the torture twice, and when nature could bear no more, consented to read some letters of the Earl of Argyle, in cipher, produced by Major Holmes. Rather than decipher this letter he submitted to be thrice tortured, all which he bore with a courage worthy of the ancient Romans. — *Dr. Welwood.*

† Ralph. ‡ Printed in Welwood's Appendix.

greatest fault, when I tell you, that in these three weeks' retirement in this place I have not only looked back but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for.

(Sixteen lines, all in cypher.)

"Judge, then, what we are to expect, in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It's to me a vain argument that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some and ambition in others have brought them to comply, and that the parliament being made up, for the most part, of members that formerly ran our enemy down, they will be ready to make their peace as soon as they can rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what if I had time I would write more at length. But that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgment, nor neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed. But, for God's sake, think in the mean time of the improbabilities that lie naturally in our way, and let us not by struggling with our chains make them straiter and heavier. For my part I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing rather than a rash inconsiderate man. And to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retir'd life that I am never like to be fond of *making a bustle in the world again.* I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay, and I refer the rest till meeting, being entirely

"Yours, &c.,

"MONMOUTH."

The Duke, had he not been prevailed upon, would have spent the summer at the court of Sweden. The Prince of Orange persuaded him to go into the Emperor's service, and offered to support him out of his own purse.* Had the Duke been exposed to any annoyance from his countrymen in exile? D'Avaux writes that some of the Protestant exiles are not convinced that the Duke is firm in his religion, and that when he passed through Utrecht only one went to see him.

The exiles' first step was to address themselves to those individuals of high rank among them. Not intending hasty measures without an understanding having been arrived at, as to the principles of action which might create a power without express conditions having been determined upon and agreed to, they proceeded to sound the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and others. They desired to secure the concurrence of all three nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland, in their military movements; the absence of which on two former occasions, that of Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge, had speedily caused failures.† The Duke of Monmouth was invited by letter to Rotterdam, having received some intimation of the business for which he was required.† He accepted the invitation, and bade adieu to retirement and a private life, even though passed in the company of his enthusiastic mistress, Lady Henrietta Wentworth. The Duke of Monmouth, in a word, concurred with the views of those he met on this occasion; and was as much as any persuaded that James would be soon able to oppress all good Christians, if something were not speedily undertaken against him.†

Ralph.

† See Sir Patrick Hume's Narrative of Argyle's Expedition in the Right Honourable Sir George Rose's Observations on Charles Fox's History, and also in the Marchmont Papers.

This is a statement that possesses great interest. If Sir Patrick Hume's assertion be correct, the Duke of Monmouth was willing to take part in an insurrection; and was not forced, by entreaties, to join against his inclination and better judgment.

The Earl of Argyle, Sir John Cochrane, and his son, upon the news of Charles's death, hastened from Friesland and Germany to Amsterdam, where they learnt who were assembled at Rotterdam. They hastened to join, but did not arrive till after the Duke of Monmouth's departure.

The Earl of Argyle was for setting sail for Scotland without delay, and proceeded at once to ask who would accompany him. He was told by the exiles that all were determined; but that as the result would prove greatly beneficial, or otherwise, to the Christian interests, and that of the nations (England, Scotland, and Ireland), so the affair demanded great preparation and the concurrence of others.* This prudent language and counsel caused the Earl of Argyle to set forth, in grand terms, his extensive correspondence and promises of concurrence in Scotland, to which he was invited; but he desired that he might not be pressed for particulars, for these he would impart to nobody. From this first conference with Argyle to the end of his expedition, his determination to be — characteristic enough of his position and country at the time — the chieftain and sole leader, and to keep the gentlemen and those who had and did join him in perfect ignorance of his plans, is strikingly displayed. He went to command, not to join.

The Earl purchased a frigate, and had already pre-

* Sir P. Hume's Narrative.

pared arms of all sorts for horse and foot. Fox states that he had the loan of 10,000*l.* from a rich widow of Amsterdam. He set forth, in the most confident language, his knowledge of all the harbours, coasts, and country of Scotland. Though willing to show to some lists of his arms and ammunition, nothing else would he communicate.

As the Earl displayed great, and, as it was considered, groundless jealousy of the Duke of Monmouth, and aversion from being mixed up with him, he was told by the assembled gentlemen, that they would give matters further consideration, and "try the Duke of Monmouth's inclinations and temper." An opportunity for doing so soon presented itself, when that remarkable exposition of Monmouth's intentions took place, which is given at length in an appropriate part of this work. The Duke of Monmouth professed to come in the character of a Protestant and an Englishman; asserted that he was a lawful son of the late Charles II.; and entered into explanations of high interest respecting his aspiring to, or views upon, the crown, which appear in another page.

The exiles drew terms from Monmouth—not to take the title of king unless it was advised by his associates as requisite for their common success; and even in that case to resign it afterwards, and to content himself with such rank as the nation should judge an adequate reward for his services.* They determined not to engage in the matter except a simultaneous attempt should be made in England and Scotland, Ireland secured from interfering with them, and the interest of the Protestant powers ensured.

The Duke of Monmouth said, if upon inquiry he did not receive "a fair invitation from England," he would join them in the Scotch expedition. This was spoken upon hearing of Argyle's confidence and haste to be gone. The Earl was startled at any mention of the Duke of Monmouth's going to Scotland, whom he considered only fit to command an army, and not engage in a partisan warfare, such as theirs must necessarily be at first. He called the arms no longer his, but belonging to others; and was "high, peremptory, and passionate." Having visited the Duke of Monmouth alone, it was agreed that unless England would concur this attempt should not be persevered in. Ralph writes, that the Duke of Monmouth urged to the Earl of Argyle the facts that the King had remedied the most crying grievance of the former reign, by calling a parliament in both kingdoms; that the time for sitting being at hand, the parliament would grant to the King all the assistance he demanded; and that their authority with the nation was great. It is, as this writer judges, inconceivable the Earl did not see the force of this.

On the 17th of April twelve Scotchmen were present at a meeting at Amsterdam. Except four—the Earl of Argyle, Mr. Charles Campbell, his son, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, son of Lord Dundonald, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth—none were above the rank of private gentlemen.

Sir Patrick Hume circumstantially relates that the "Duke of Monmouth having his returns from England, some of us went to meet him, and got from him full and satisfying accounts of particular and good encouragements, and saw the letters he had received." That the Duke had received letters full of sanguine hopes of

success in any insurrection he might create is undoubted; but nothing justifies our believing that he had any encouragement from the west of England which could fairly be pictured in such language. Though many individuals may have been expected from distant counties, who never came, and some who liked the pageant of a progress had a distaste for war, and did not feel themselves committed in any way to join an insurrection, yet, upon the whole, it will be found that the success exceeded reasonable expectation. If any great men had positively engaged to join the Duke of Monmouth, it must have been known afterwards. Burnet says he had no encouragement from the men of estates and interest in the country.

Sir Patrick Hume asserts that the Duke pressed the Scotch party to make haste; saying, he should be ready before them. This may not go for much; else it is additional evidence to the point, that he was not, as often described, an unwilling instrument in the hands of others, but that he cordially united with them, and promoted the expedition to the west of England. Ralph says he was in want of every thing, and was as earnest for delay as Argyle for proceeding.

The two declarations, to be circulated by the Earl of Argyle, were prepared and submitted to the Duke of Monmouth; who, on his part, put his declaration into the hands of the Scotch. The Duke had penetrated Argyle's designs upon the Western Islands, which the Earl's friends conceived to be a very improper place. The Duke entreated them to prevent any stay there, but to hasten to the Lowlands, adding, that if he did not know they were able to overrule the Earl's inclination upon the point, he would not stir a foot. The three

ships, the Anna, the Sophia, and the David, sailed to the Vly, May 1., and left with a fair wind at 7 P. M., May 2., arriving at the Orkneys May 5.

Ralph alludes to the circumstance of Fletcher and Ferguson, both Scotchmen, having attached themselves to Monmouth's expedition, while Ayloffe and Rumbold, Englishmen, attended the Earl of Argyle. This, he says, was, perhaps, by agreement, or by way of precaution, that, should either chief depart from his original views, he might be put in mind of them.

Every thing being agreed to and settled between the leaders of the two expeditions, the Duke of Monmouth assured the three gentlemen of the Scotch party, who went to take leave of him, that he would sail the *sixth* day after their departure. The Earl of Argyle would not delay, lest, besides offending and alienating those whom he had drawn in, his enemies might learn what was preparing. He would not wait one month, nor sail till a promise was given by the Duke of Monmouth to set out on the sixth day, wind and weather permitting.

This engagement to sail within a certain time, unless there was a prospect of every thing being ready, was perfectly reckless. Yielding to the terms proposed by the Earl of Argyle, the Duke, sacrificing his own interest and of those concerned with him, and regardless of all the principles of prudence and discretion, agreed to sail then: rather than suffer his honour to be stained, he kept his word, which it was madness to have pledged.

Probably the Duke of Monmouth considered himself, not as the prime mover, but as the chosen leader, of the expedition. In some degree acceding to plans already

agitated and partially matured, he was the very antithesis of the Earl of Argyle, who conducted every thing of himself, and without any council. The Duke had to carry out, which he was by disposition fitted for, the views of many, which could not but have been inconsistent. They looked to effects to be produced, and were not concerned, from not being leaders, as to the means necessary to secure the ends. Less stern than the occasion demanded, a feeling of what was due to each active exile led to a sacrifice of views that, as general, he should have maintained unimpaired. The undertaking appeared a mad and desperate one to the Duke of Monmouth himself, who knew what a weak body a rabble was, and how unable to contend with disciplined troops.* In all such undertakings the choice of time is very important. In this instance it seemed too early yet to venture. Fletcher of Saltoun told Burnet, that the Duke was pushed on to it against his own sense and reason, and (which confirms the view just taken of his not being in a strict sense the leader) he adds, but he could not refuse to hazard his person when others were so forward.* Captain Matthews and Fletcher discouraged the Duke's expedition. Lord Grey said, that Henry VII. landed with a smaller number, and succeeded. Fletcher answered, that Henry VII. was sure of several of the nobility, who were little princes in those days. Ferguson, in his enthusiastical way, said, it was a good cause; and that God would not leave them unless they left him. And though the Duke of Monmouth's course of life gave him no great reason to hope that God would appear signally for him, yet even he came to talk enthusiastically on the subject. But Argyle's going, and the promise made, as before

* Burnet.

described, so bound the Duke, that all further deliberation was laid aside. His own and mistress's jewels were pawned to purchase arms; and they were put aboard a vessel freighted for Spain. No money, which was so much wanted, was sent from England.* There was not sufficient time between the first message sent into England to inform the friends of the cause of the design, and "the hastening over to pursue it, to allow them a sufficient space either to talk over the matter with those in whom they could confide, or go where their presence would be most useful, nor to settle a correspondence and make such preparations as were expected from them, and as were necessary to put the undertaking in a probable way of succeeding."† Ferguson says the Duke was sensible of all this; but suffered himself to be overruled, contrary to the dictates of his judgment. His real intention was to have spent the summer in the court of Sweden; where, out of the reach and suspicion of his enemies, he would have given matters at home time to ripen towards a revolution, afforded his friends time to have settled correspondences in the several parts of the kingdom, to have remitted money for providing sufficient arms and ammunition, and to have matured all things for joining him upon his arrival the following spring.† Ferguson was afterwards anxious to exonerate himself from the charge of having been the chief author and promoter of the expedition. Lord Grey, Mr. Wade, and others, were the principal advisers, and their desire was opposed by Fletcher and Captain Matthews.† Dare is accused of having been the cause of the selection of the west of

* Burnet. † Echard.

England as the place of landing. It does not appear that any answer was returned by Mr. Battiscomb, who went into the West when that part was decided on; no assistance was sent, though so greatly needed: and had the going thither involved, from circumstances, the ruin of all, no information could have been received to divert the party from their course. How reasonably did Burnet fear—what he has so appropriately named—a raw rebellion, which, being crushed, might give a colour for keeping up a standing army. Burnet went into voluntary exile upon the death of Charles II., seeing that the nation was likely to fall into great confusion, and was either to be rescued in a way he could not approve of, by the Duke of Monmouth's means, or be delivered up by a meeting that had the face and name of a parliament.

James II. had been told by a Monsieur de Monpouleam of the great intimacy that existed between the Duke and the Prince. Communicating this to Charles II., that King thought this was strange, as they aimed both at the same thing.* Another well-known story to the same purpose is, that Chudleigh, the minister at the Hague, was ordered to command James II.'s troops in the Dutch service, not to take any notice of the Duke of Monmouth. The Prince of Orange was, as may naturally be supposed, angry at this step; and plainly reprimanded Chudleigh for offering to deliver orders to officers under his command without communicating the same to him. Upon which the English envoy complained to his master, who, thinking himself affronted, forbade him to see the Prince of Orange. †

James II. could never believe but that the Prince of

* Macpherson, i. 144. † Echard.

Orange knew of the Duke of Monmouth's designs, and even set him on to pursue them. The King wrote upon this painful subject in his exile; and when the Prince of Orange had seated himself upon the throne, he had some story of the grand pensioner Fagel having advised the Prince to play the Duke of Monmouth and James against each other, as, whoever got the better, his pretensions could be equally advanced. The King believed that Fagel told the Prince, if Monmouth succeeded, it would be easy for him, a Protestant, and the next heir, in right of his wife, "to shove him out of the saddle:" if, on the contrary, the Duke was worsted, he got rid of a dangerous rival, when all the Duke's party would have recourse to him; which proved afterwards true.

"This reasoning, very natural," writes Sir George Rose, "to a mind like that of James, is so entirely opposite to the character maintained by King William through life, to whom no one has imputed a crooked or cunning policy, except his father-in-law, James II., that it requires but little candour to put it aside as utterly unworthy of belief. It is infinitely more likely that the Prince of Orange should, in his attention to Monmouth, have been influenced by his liking for an amiable and high-spirited young man, whose view of James's conduct, and the probable consequences of it, were similar to his own; and it is not inconsistent with that persuasion to believe that the Prince imagined Monmouth might be likely to further his views of ambition, if he then entertained such, without making a sacrifice of himself; — in short, that it might be well worth his while to attach to his cause a man like Monmouth, to whom the popular party in England were devoted." James owns that he had mighty encouragement from the fanatic and republican party, and from some who called them-

selves Church of England men, though in reality they had, James concludes, neither religion nor principles of honour. Some were officers of desperate fortunes, with other turbulent men.* Dalrymple would make the Prince of Orange to have privately encouraged the expedition with design to ruin the Duke of Monmouth; and this upon Fletcher's authority.†

A great writer of the present day has, in allusion to this subject, this clear opinion, that "it has never been established by any reputable testimony, though perpetually asserted, nor is it in the least degree probable, that William took any share in prompting the invasion of Monmouth."‡

It must be mentioned, that when the Duke of Monmouth left the Hague his retreat was not known. His presence somewhere in Holland was believed; and Lord Rochester wrote to the Prince of Orange, April 14. 1685, to remove the Duke from Holland. His Lordship stated that his advice was not dictated by the King, who did not intend to drive the Duke from country to country; "but, on the other hand," writes his Lordship, "it is not at all necessary, nor, in truth, decent, considering the circumstance he, the Duke of Monmouth, hath put himself in, that he should be hovering just over against England, as it were always in a readiness to transport himself."‡

On the 30*th of April* the Prince of Orange wrote to the Earl of Rochester, assuring him, on the word of a man of honour, that he had not known, nor did to that moment know, whether the Duke of Monmouth was in Holland. He states that it had been said the Duke was

* Clarke's Life of James II.

† Lord Dartmouth's MS. note on Burnet. ‡ Hallam.

wandering between Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and even that he had been at the Hague; but that he had not been able to ascertain it. Had he found him, it was his intention to have told him to leave Holland; which he would do if he could yet discover him.*

If there is to be any faith reposed in the honour of a prince, this letter ought to be, says Mr. Singer, a complete answer to all suspicions that the Prince of Orange encouraged, underhand, the expedition of the Duke of Monmouth.

The Prince of Orange had cashiered the officers in the English regiments who were disagreeable to James. The Count de Waldeck hinted to Chudleigh that the Prince hoped the King would give him leave to reinstate them, for that it had proved a great mortification to be obliged to turn out many officers who had been guilty of no other crime but that of obedience to his commands.† The States agreed, May 16., to expel the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and Ferguson.‡

The Government issued a circular to the deputy-lieutenants of many counties, 19th May, 1685, as intelligence had been received of the sailing of Argyle for Scotland, and also an account of some *design* upon the *northern parts of England.* The deputy-lieutenants were directed to be vigilant; to disarm immediately all dangerous and suspected persons; keep two of their number together in some well-known spot, to receive information and intelligence; send up frequent accounts; and to take care that the militia arms were not surprised.§

* Singer's Clarendon Correspondence.
† D'Avaux, iii. 167. ‡ Ibid. 208.
§ State Papers, Sir L. Jenkin's Coll. Domestic. ii. 198.

The followers of the Duke of Monmouth were true to their cause: from their circumspection and arrangement great secrecy was preserved. Monmouth had promised to follow Argyle in six days; yet three weeks had elapsed before he left Amsterdam. It will be remembered that Argyle sailed May 2.

Monmouth had eighty-two followers. Those who have written of his arriving with one hundred and fifty persons included sixty-seven sailors, most of whom did not land. The Duke had freighted a ship containing the arms for Bilbao in Spain. This ship, usually styled the frigate, could not have belonged to the Duke. The money paid for her must have been for her risk in putting ashore the party in the west of England. There were also three tenders, one of which the Dutch authorities seized.

Some spies, whom Colonel Bevil Skelton, the new envoy, had employed, sent him intelligence of a suspected ship sailing out of Amsterdam with arms on board. This incompetent person neither understood the laws of Holland, nor consulted those who did; otherwise he would have procured an order from the Admiralty that sat at the Hague, to be made use of as the occasion might require. He sent some one to Amsterdam to acquaint the magistrates that the Duke of Monmouth had two ships in the Texel laden with arms, which he intended to send to England to raise a rebellion against the King of England; and he thought fit to inform them of it, that they might issue proper orders, since every thing was yet in their port, and it was in their power to stop the expedition. The magistrates answered, that they had no power out of their jurisdiction, which did not extend so far as the Texel; and that as this belonged to the States-General, Mr. Skelton

ought to apply to them. He received this answer on the 8th of May, at night, and at the same time waited on the President of the States-General, of whom he demanded an order for an embargo on the vessels aforesaid. The President told him it was not in his power to do this of his own head, but that next day he would make a report thereof to the Assembly of the States-General, if Mr. Skelton would please to give him a memorial of it; but Skelton did not care to do this, and was very much offended at the refusal.

D'Avaux acknowledges that both the magistrates and the President spoke the truth; but he would have the notice of such a circumstance to have been a sufficient warrant for them to act upon and to disregard forms.

On the 10th of May Skelton presented a memorial to the States, which he before declined to do. The States readily granted his demand, and did not deliberate upon their resolution on the following day, as is their custom. The magistrates of Amsterdam delivered their report to the States, May 17., of what they had done in pursuance of the orders of the latter. They stated that the three ships had weighed anchor when their yacht arrived, which, upon going to board one of them, was repulsed by a discharge of cannon and muskets. Burnet writes that the expedition learnt what had been done, and sailed out of the Texel. M. de Neuville writes that the States sent messengers with a list of proscribed persons; but all had sailed. D'Avaux held frequent communications with Skelton, who was as ready as himself to believe every act of the Prince of Orange to cover a bad design. Skelton had showed to the Prince

* D'Avaux, iii. 199—205.

the memorial to the States: he pretended that the Prince amused him all the morning till the States had broken up, by which its presentation was delayed till the next day at eleven A. M.*

Of the eighty-two followers, many were not only not volunteers in the cause, but had received treatment which reflects disgrace upon the Duke of Monmouth and his principal managers. The only excuse to be made for them is, that the deception practised was not without precedent among the *ruses de querre.*

It is well known how the ten thousand, immortalized by their retreat, were induced by a fraud to engage themselves, and march in the service of Cyrus. They never suspected the design was against Artaxerxes. This was disclosed when escape seemed impossible, and the only advantage to be found in ready compliance.† Such a system of deceit was repeated on this occasion in Holland. Tillier has detailed how he was deceived by Col. Foulkes, who told him he was going to serve the Duke of Brandenburg, and would make him his lieutenant. Foulkes was one of the English officers who had been recently cashiered by James's order. Skelton had complained to the Prince of Orange, that this officer was raising men at Bois le Duc. The prince, who was deceived, said the men were for the service of the Elector of Brandenburg. To return to Tillier. Col. Foulkes took him to see Busse, the colonel of the pretended regiment, and a party in the fraud. Tillier was taken on board a ship; there fairly made a prisoner, and kept closely guarded. The Duke of Monmouth saw him; asked him if he would accept a lieutenant's commission, or continue a prisoner: he

* D'Avaux, iii. 208. † Xenophon's Anabasis.

chose the former alternative. At Philipsnorton he would have gone over to the King's army, but he found that all who had come over from Holland were excepted from the king's pardon. Captain Kidd was entrapped in the same manner. Dr. Temple was engaged by the Duke as his surgeon to go to the West Indies, and was several days at sea before he was undeceived.*

The secrecy with which the destination of Monmouth's expedition was kept is surprising. M. de Barillon, the French ambassador at the Court of London, wrote to the King of France, 21st of May, 1685. He states that letters were received from the Hague the day before, with intelligence that three vessels laden with arms and ammunition had sailed either for Scotland or the north of Ireland. James II. had complained to Barillon of the Prince of Orange's want of care in not having these ships detained, and of the delay owing to requiring a remonstrance from Skelton, which gave time to the vessels to sail. James viewed this formal way of proceeding on the part of the States-General and the Prince of Orange as not corresponding with the fine professions daily made by them. His Majesty, however, did not intend to make a formal complaint about it. These vessels had not caused him any uneasiness, as he had given necessary orders to prevent any movement in Scotland or Ireland, and had sent some frigates along the coast.† James believed he had nothing to fear, as he felt assured of the friendship of Louis.

* Lansdowne MS., 1152—1279. J. Tillier's Exam. — *Last speech of Dr. Temple.*

† The Privy Council made an act for putting Scotland in a posture of defence against the enemies of the King, some skippers having deposed that lately at Rotterdam they heard of ships freighted with arms for Scotland. — April 28. *Fountainhall's Diary.*

Barillon, in a second letter, 21st May, to Louis, his master, describes the impatience of persons in London to know the destination of the three vessels that sailed from the Texel ten days before. James II. had told Barillon that some of these officers, who were cashiered in Holland, were aboard. "It is not known with certainty," he writes, "whether the Duke of Monmouth is aboard one of the vessels; he was not long since at Rotterdam." The expedition was considered as about to join in a preconcerted insurrection. Fears were entertained for the north of Ireland, where there were many malecontents, lest they should assemble, "hold the country, and form a body large enough to resist the regular troops that will be sent against them—in whom it is not even sure that entire confidence can be placed." Lord Dunbarton set out 21st May, to take the command of the King's troops in Scotland, and lead them wherever the factious desire to make their first attempt. May 22. The news of the landing of the Earl of Argyle's expedition reached the King the morning of the 22d May, on which the first parliament of this reign met, to whom James related the intelligence.

The Duke of Monmouth was supposed, so late even as the 21st of May, to have joined with Argyle. The existence of a joint conspiracy, and a second expedition, was not suspected. The Duke of Monmouth's expedition had actually sailed for the west of England (24th of May), when, on the following day (25th of May, 1685), the Prince of Orange wrote to the Earl of Rochester, enclosing a memoir, in Dutch, of the designs of the Scotch and English refugees, for King James's perusal. After many kind observations, and offers of service, he adds these remarkable words, confirming what was afterwards asserted by Monmouth,

that the Prince and Princess of Orange were not privy to his design: "I must confess to you, that I never should have believed the Duke of Monmouth capable of such an action, after the assurances he made to me of the contrary when he took leave of me."* Bentinck, on the same day, from Honslaerdyck, announces to the Earl of Rochester the intended descent of the English rebels upon Scotland and the *west of England*, and states that he has informed Mr. Skelton of what he has been able to learn.†

This date, May 25., is that on which the letters were written in Holland: that of their arrival in England is not given. Several days, perhaps, elapsed before their information was in the hands of the English Court. Till these letters were received no suspicion of an insurrection created by the Duke of Monmouth in the west of England existed.

The close ties of religious fellowship had been knitted together between the exiles and many in the land, to which they had fled for refuge, in the firmest manner. The ministers of Amsterdam knew of the expedition, and its destination. When all had sailed they could not refrain from offering up their prayers that the captain of a ship, and all those who embarked with him some days ago, on a very hazardous enterprise, might find favour with God, and be conducted to a good harbour. They did not name the Duke of Monmouth.†

The Prince of Orange told Skelton that he had been lately informed of all the steps taken by the English rebels, and discovered that for more than a year they had been privately sending over arms and ammunition to Scotland; that he began to find out that the Duke of

* Singer's Clarendon Correspondence.

† D'Avaux, June 21.

Monmouth is to blame; and that he has a hand in this affair, which the Prince thinks will be of much greater consequence than he at first imagined.

The duties upon the arms and ammunition had been paid for two months. It was given out that these were designed for Poland and Denmark. The Prince of Orange continued to affirm that it was the King of France who had supplied the rebels with money, and told Skelton their payments had been made in Louis d'ors and crowns of France. *

* D'Avaux, June 21.

CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1685.

Monmouth embarks at Santfort, May 24. — No demonstration in the west of England. — Description of former proceedings at Taunton. — The inhabitants keep May 11. — Tymewell, the mayor's, account of that rebellious town. — Account of Trenchard's visit to George Speke, Esq. — Judge Jeffreys makes a satisfactory report of the western counties in 1684. — Attempt to arrest Trenchard. — Sir William Portman receives information that the countenances of the dissenters are altered. — Exeter fair most likely to prove the scene of rebellion. — The militia of that city called out. — Alarm subsides. — Captain W. Speke and the vicar of Ilminster search the letters at that town. — Discover the first intimation that Monmouth was expected to land. — Captain W. Speke rides post to the King, who slights the enigmatical contents of the letters. — Mayor of Taunton opens eight letters which had not been delivered. — Letters mentioning the arrival of a "certain person." — Sir W. Portman sends a letter to the King. — Other intimation of Monmouth's coming. — Duke of Albemarle arrives at Exeter. — Sir E. Phillips and Colonel Luttrell at Taunton. Reverend A. Paschall informs the King of his apprehensions, founded upon indications and forewarnings. — A monstrous birth in Somerset, and mock-suns.

THE Duke of Monmouth embarked at Santfort, May 24., but could not get to his little fleet till May 30., (old style.)

Boisterous and contrary winds protracted the voyage to an unusual length. The delay leads us to inquire what the party was doing in the West all this while? There was no demonstration made by the favourers of the Duke of Monmouth; no alarm excited in the minds of the loyalists. How matters were developed there will have to be described, while we direct our attention

exclusively to the beautiful and highly-favoured west of England, then pre-eminently a manufacturing district.

The extraordinary persecution of the Nonconformists in the west of England has been treated of in a separate chapter.

We find a government informer writing to Sir Leoline Jenkins in February 1682, that "the rebellious town of Taunton openly declares that they'll see bloody noses before they'll desert conventicles. Were this wicked town brought down to obedience, all the west of England would be then very regular; for it is the nursery of rebellion in these parts."* This once celebrated manufacturing town gave great offence to the Court "by evidencing," as Bishop Spratt styles it, "the old disloyalty of the inhabitants by a most remarkable insolence—having presumed for some years after the restoration to keep solemnly a day of thanksgiving to God for raising the siege which Charles I. had laid against the parliament's rebellious forces in that town." There is evidence* to show that the men of Taunton kept the 11th of May "higher than Christmas Day;" and this so late as the year 1683, when the mayor, Stephen Tymewell, attempted to prevent the usual celebration. Lord Stawell wrote to the Court that the Mayor would have been stoned to death on this occasion if he had not made a retreat with his handful of men; and his Lordship recommends that the fanatics should be disarmed.

The burning pulpits and galleries of the dissenting meeting-houses followed in July, as is elsewhere described.

The mayor, Mr. Stephen Tymewell, being at Wellington fair, May 21., was openly insulted. As his

* State Paper Office.

period of office had nearly expired, 22d September, this officer pined at the thoughts of being exposed to the vengeance of the Dissenters when disarmed and terrorless: he hinted at being continued in power, as a merciful provision against the pitiless baiting and persecution he should experience. The terrible dangers that lay before him, when, as a private person, he should subside into the circle to which he belonged, made him eloquent in picturing the stormy career he had led, while wielding the civic sceptre at Taunton, whose turbulent inhabitants he finds a parallel for in Scripture: "I have fought," he writes, "with thousands of the beasts of Ephesus, and overcome them." They really appeared to have been subdued after the Rye-House Plot in 1683.

Mr. Justice Ellesdon of Charmouth, better known for his unsuccessful attempt to procure a passage for Charles II. after the battle of Worcester*, happened to be in Somersetshire when Mr. John Trenchard, the movement-man of the West, arrived in that country after his acquittal. Mr. Ellesdon wrote what he had witnessed to the secretary of state. His communication was evidently designed to expose the progress-like journeying of that politician — not to intimate a coming rebellion, and to direct the attention of the government to him and his father-in-law, George Speke, Esq. The offence complained of was that Mr. Trenchard "was attended by Anabaptists, Sectaries, and other disaffected persons, who went along with him, congratulating him on his enlargement, to the great vexation of all the loyalists. He went through Crewkerne, considerably out of his road, to White Lackington, where

* History of Lyme, 112.

old Speke lives, to show his kindness to the fanatics, whom he shook by the hand, and publicly caressed in the streets."*

The state of the West is fully described by Sir George Jeffreys, who took that circuit in the spring of the year 1684. He finished at Dorchester 8th March, and reported to the secretary of state that several Dissenters had been presented, and convicted for 20*l.* a month; that the gentry were all unanimous in that county, and were zealously inclined to the King's service. The grand jury presented, in imitation of that at Winchester, ——. The awful judge wrote, March 17., from Exeter, that in Cornwall and Devon the gentry for the most part were loyal to the King.† A loyal address was sent to the King from Bridgwater about this time. Not one half the loyalists could write their names!!†

The subject draws us to the year 1685, when, though clearly without any information or suspicion of an intended invasion of the West, the fear being felt for the North of the kingdom, the government did not neglect the disaffected in other parts of England.

Mr. John Trenchard was sojourning with his father-in-law, Mr. Speke, at White Lackington House, near Ilminster, when a messenger arrived at midnight to arrest him. No capture was made. The sheriffs of Somerset were directed, 29th May, to assist two messengers sent down to arrest Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Speke, and those persons whom they should find to have been

* State Papers, xv. 77. Sir L. Jenkins's Domestic, Feb. 22. 1684. This letter is pasted to one from Sir Richard Vyner about the manufacture of strong battle-axes, or bills, by one Bond, and of silk armour for the rich, by one Alexander. Arms were brought to the North by the masters of vessels.

† State Paper Office, xv. 215. Sir L. Jenkins.

concerned in making a riot, by means of which Mr. Trenchard had escaped.* Every evil design against the government was judged to have Trenchard at the bottom of it. His arrest, and the seizure of his papers, might have elucidated some dark plot. The government had no thought of invasion or coming rebellion. Bishop Mews, who managed Somerset, had described Mrs. Speke "as the most dangerous woman in the West," and had recommended that the house should be searched for papers, July 21. 1683.*

It is positively stated, in the Axe Papers†, that the Dissenters had full intelligence of Monmouth's coming into the West soon after his resolving upon that step, yet all were true to each other.

Sir William Portman was at the Parliament which met May 22., and listened to a relation from the King on that day of the landing of Argyle, where he received a letter from Taunton, in which it was stated that one of the most discerning (prudent) men of the corporation of that town said he verily believed the dissenting party had some wicked design afoot, because their countenances and manner in conversation seemed different of late to what they had been.†

It was surmised that Exeter fair, which is holden on the third Wednesday in May, was most likely to prove the first scene of rebellion. Upon the alarm being spread among the magistrates, that city, the most important at that day in the West, called out their militia, but afterwards slighted the information, and would not put off the fair as it was recommended it should.†

* State Paper Office. Sir L. Jenkins's Coll. May 29. 1685.

† Harleian MS. 6845, p. 284., addressed to the Rev. Mr. Harte, Taunton. Under, in a different hand, "Mr. Axe, his papers." The Rev. Walter Harte, M.A., vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, Taunton, fellow of Pembroke College, prebendary of Wells, and canon of Bristol. The

These suspicions excited the magistrates and clergy to great vigilance. Captain William Speke, perhaps the son of George Speke, Esq. (as that gentleman had a sixth child, named William, who died 1734), differed in political opinions from the rest of the family. This individual, and the Rev. Mr. Clarke, the vicar of Ilminster, went to the post-house of that place on the 30th May, where they intercepted a letter, which gave the *first notice* that *Monmouth was about to land.* These gentlemen, it would seem, opened any letter they pleased. Captain William Speke rode post to the King, having first sent a man to the mayor of Taunton, to advise him to search the bag for that town. All the letters except eight had been delivered before the Captain's man arrived. One letter, however, of the eight remaining was of the same nature.* The following is a copy of it: —

"Friend, "Dated from London, 28th May, 1685.

"These are to advise thee that honest Protestants forthwith prepare and make themselves very ready, for here is now orders to apprehend all honest men that are anywise noted, and to secure them, for they have notice here at Court that a Certain person will forthwith appeare in the West, which puts them here at Court into a most dreadful feare and confusion: 'tis hoped, therefore, that all honest men that are true Protestants will stick together, and not let their friends be brought out of the country by any messenger or the like. You know how to deal with your two neighbouring and such like fellows. Argyle have had great success in Scotland, and have already destroyed great part of the King's forces there, and we heare from good hande that

Rev. Mr. Axe, minister of Taunton, was probably resident minister for Mr. Harte.

* Axe Papers.

he hath sure an army that doth increase so mightily daily, that nothing can oppose them; and if they be once up in the West they would suddenly be up in all parts of England, all the Protestants being certainly prepared by this, and resolved rather to dye than to live slaves or papists. Make good use hereof, and impart it to such as you can trust, that you may all be prepared and ready against the appearance of a certain person, which will be forthwith if not already.

"From your friend,

"F. R."

The other letter intercepted at Taunton was written as if by a friend of James, expressing great alarm, lest messengers sent down to secure persons on account of the expected arrival of a *certain person* might be laid hold of and secured themselves. Cooke of Taunton, to whom the letter was addressed, was obliged to enter into recognizances for 1000*l.*, and find three sureties in 500*l.* each. Sir W. Portman sent his servant to town with a copy, and to all the principal towns of the western counties, directing a search of the post-coaches (mails) for letters. Some suspicious persons were taken up. Four companies of foot and one troop of horse were ordered into Taunton by the deputy-lieutenant, May 31.

The King, as will be learnt from his correspondence, did not pay much attention to the "enigmatical letter," as he styled it, conveyed by Captain W. Speke. When we consider the times, and the host of discoverers of plots of all shades that were offering themselves, it is not surprising that intimation of the real insurrection, clothed in ambiguous language, should be disregarded.

* Axe Papers.

One Wey, drinking at Wellington, told, in his cups, Mr. Cross, the coroner, whom he took to be favourable to his views, that Gyl or Gyle (Mr. Cross had not heard of Argyle) was in Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth would be here before 25th May; and that he had not slept for two or three nights for thinking of it. Mr. Cross gave information June 2.*

M. de Barillon, the French ambassador, wrote to the King of France, June 7. :—

"Every one believes that Argyle's expedition was founded upon the expectation that the Duke of Monmouth would attempt at the same time to excite a revolt in England; but it is believed that he has not ventured hither. ..... The King has just informed me that a courier has just arrived express from Scotland, who left Edinburgh the 4th of this month. All the letters from Scotland lead to a belief that Argyle expected that the Duke of Monmouth would set about exciting a revolt, according to his engagement, in England."

About 7th June the Duke of Albemarle, lord-lieutenant of Devonshire, came to Exeter by his Majesty's command, and Sir Edward Phillips and Colonel Lutterell to Taunton.* This must have been consequent upon the receipt of a letter from the Prince of Orange, dated 25th May, informing James of Monmouth's destination; but if so, this could not have been credited, for the King, June 11., desired Lord Sunderland to acknowledge Albemarle's letter from Exeter of the 7th June, and to state that his Majesty doubts not but that by his Grace's care and prudence all things will continue quiet there.†

Sir Edward Phillips and the mayor of Taunton

* Axe Papers. † State Papers, June 11.

were ordered to send up five suspected persons, Brand, Henry Lisle, Humphry Aldwyn, Thomas Love, and Robert Perrott, to London in safe custody, who had been arrested, and reported to the secretary of state, June 6.*

The Rev. Andrew Paschall, of Chedzoy, in Sedgemoor, near Bridgwater, from indications and forwarnings, wrote in haste to a person in an eminent station, June 1., to represent to the King his apprehensions, and to entreat him to cast an eye that way.

The reverend gentleman, with a turn of mind highly characteristic of the period, directed his attention to those curious and rare phenomena which were supposed to augur and foreshadow portentous occurrences. He may be allowed to speak for himself, in the words he addressed a friend: —†

"Before our troubles came on, we had some such signs as used to be deemed forerunners of such things. In May, 1680, here was that monstrous birth at Ill-Browers (now Isle-Brewers), a parish in Somerset, which at that time was much taken notice of. Two female children joined in their bodies from the breast downwards. They were born May the 19th, and christened by the names of Aquilla and Priscilla. May the 29th I saw them well and likely to live. About at the same time, reports went of divers others in the

* State Papers, ii. June 9. 1685.—210.

† Dr. James. Ayscough, British Museum, 4162. No. 20. Bishop Gibson's Papers, xiv. Published in the Appendix to Serjeant Heywood's Vindication of Fox's History.

The Rev. A. Paschall, inducted rector of Chedzoy, 1662, was considered to be a learned man of his day. Mr. Stradling greatly praises him, and gives "Chilton Priory," 158, a letter from him to John Aubrey, Esq., 1683, "of many prodigious things performed by some discontented demon." In another case none but non-conforming ministers were called to their assistance by the poor afflicted people.

inferior sorts of animals, both the oviparous, and the viviparous kinds. But, perhaps, many of these, and other odd things then talked of, owed, if not their being, yet their dress, to superstition and fancy. In the January following, Monday the 3rd, about seven in the morning, we had an earthquake, which I myself felt here. It came with a whizzing gust of wind from the west end of my house, which it shook. This motion was observed in Bridgwater, Taunton, Wells, and other places, and near some caverns in Mendip Hills, and was said to be accompanied with thundering noises. In the end of the year 1684, December the 21st, were seen from this place, at sun-rising, Parhelii, and this when, in a clear sharp frosty morning, there were no clouds to make the reflection. It was probably from the thickness of the atmosphere. The place of the fight, which was in the following summer, was near a line drawn from the eyes of the spectator to these mock-suns."

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1685.

Accounts of the landing of the Duke of Monmouth's party generally incorrect. — Dassell's statement in the Harleian Collection. — Three vessels off Lyme, June 11., O. S. — Boat lands at Seatown. — The fishermen are treated. — Dare and Chamberlain proceed into the country. — Surveyor of customs hastens to inform the mayor of Lyme. — The Lyme officer of customs had gone off to the strange vessels. — Is secured. — Robins, a fisherman, is invited on board and detained. — Mayor of Lyme sends after the persons who landed. — The officer of customs is wanted at the club dinner. — Sailors judge the vessels to be either Dutch or French. — At 5 P.M. the mayor reads in a newspaper that three vessels had left Holland with the Duke of Monmouth aboard, designed either for Scotland or England. — This strengthens the mayor's doubts. — Mayor and corporation look at the vessels. — Dassell advises that a cannon be fired to recall the custom-house officer. — Mayor approves, but there was no powder or shot. — The mayor spies four boats full of armed men landing. — Orders the drums to beat. — Dassell procures powder by order from the Cobb. — Finds the master of a vessel firing muskets. — Recommends him to fire his two cannon upon the persons landing. — Master refuses, not knowing if they are enemies. — The powder is taken to the town. — The mayor rides away. — The party from the ships enter the town, and are joined by the townsmen. — Dassell supposes the Duke of Monmouth has been captured, and is being led a prisoner. — Finds the mistake. — Describes the excitement. — Dassell and Thorold, another officer of customs, proceed to the field, whither the force had proceeded. — The Duke's conversation. — Proceedings aboard. — Consultation. — Landing. — The Duke kneels and prays. — Line of march into the town.

In many histories may be found some account of the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme Regis, with particulars utterly at variance with a knowledge of the locality, and which differ in material points. The whole is deficient in details of what must be considered an interesting event, which brought war once more to the scene of the heroic deeds of the parliamentary warrior Blake, and to various parts where the peaceful labourer

had not for centuries been distubed from agricultural pursuits by the presence and deadly conflict of armed forces.

At the British Museum is a MS.* that furnishes much detail of the landing and attendant circumstanees, which is highly valuable. The writer was Mr. Samuel Dassell, the deputy-searcher of the Lyme custom-house establishment. It is entitled—

"An exact relation of the manner of the late James Duke of Monmouth's proceedings on the day of his invadeing and rebellious possessing himself of his Majesties town and port of Lyme Regis in the county of Dorset.

"As the same was testified to the King's most excellent Majtie in Councell, and to the Honble House of Comons, whereupon the Act of Attainder passed against the said late Duke."

Mr. Dassell states, that at day-break, on June 11., O. S., (New Style would be 21st June†,) three vessels were three leagues off Lyme, in the cod, or deepest part of the bay, which for several hours plied to windward against a northerly wind. A ten-oared boat landed three gentlemen, at day-break, at Seatown, a creek in the parish of Chideock, five miles east of Lyme. These asked some fishermen, while they treated them with bottles of Canary, and neats' tongues, what news there was; who said they knew none, but that they had heard there was a rebellion in Scotland by the Earl of Argyle.

* Harleian MS., No. 6845.

† As most accounts of the Rebellion preserve the dates of the Old Style, this has been followed throughout this part of the work. Readers hardly require to be informed, that, in the seventeenth century, *ten* days must be added to change the Old to the New Style. Occurrences have frequently two dates, one for each style, as the landing, June 11—21.; the battle of Sedgemoor, July 6—16.

These gentlemen, who treated the fishermen, were "old Dare," the paymaster of the Duke's force, Mr. Chamberlain, and Colonel Venner. They told the fishermen they could give them news; who, being anxious to know what it was, they said there was also a rebellion in Ireland, and it was believed there would be one in England. The fishermen said they hoped not; upon which the three gentlemen smiled upon each other, and conversed in some foreign language. The boat put off, upon a waft being hoisted by the largest vessel, to which Colonel Venner returned. The two others, Dare and Chamberlain, inquired their way to Hawkchurch*, the direct road, says Dassell, who jumped to a conclusion, to Taunton; and so proceeded. They went to White Lackington House, the seat of George Speke, Esq.; but they did not venture to enter Taunton, which was strictly watched and secured by a militia force. Mr. Speke was to inform all Monmouth's friends in the country round, and in London, which was done. †

Some time after, the Surveyor of customs for the said creek, who lived at Chideock, came down, and the fishermen said he had lost a booty—a treat of Canary and neats' tongues. They repeated what the gentlemen had said about rebellion.

The surveyor soon after went to Lyme, and told the mayor, and some of his brethren, the members of the corporation, what had occurred. It was then ten o'clock, A. M. The surveyor of the port of Lyme, Mr. Thomas Tye, with some others, had put off to visit the three vessels, before the Chideock officer had arrived.

* Pronounced by the lower orders Hay church, which is the Saxon for High church, of which Hawkchurch is a corruption.

† Lord Grey's account of the Rye-House Plot.

It appears by Wade's confessions that Mr. Tye boarded the ship of burden, and was surprised by the captain, named Hayes, who carried him and his attendants prisoners aboard the frigate, where they were civilly treated by the Duke of Monmouth. His Grace learned from them that no resistance could be made by the town. This was confirmed from another quarter. Those on board Monmouth's vessel called to Samuel Robins, a poor fisherman of Charmouth, then engaged in his occupation, and purchased what fish he had taken. He desired to go ashore with his two assistants, which he was not allowed to do till late. This involved the poor man in trouble hereafter, as we shall find.

The mayor and corporation came to a determination, upon the information of the surveyor of Chideock, to send after the two men who had landed, and to inform the justices of the peace and gentlemen of the adjacent country of the circumstances. Dassell was to have been one sent in pursuit; but Mr. Anthony Thorold, the collector of customs, said he knew that he was engaged on special business, and, in consequence, two other persons were despatched about noon.

Some way up Pound Street, in Lyme, is the entrance to Stile Lane, a shady walk to the Cobb, the ancient harbour, and just beyond the Quakers' burying-ground is a gate leading to the Bowling Green; a spot hardly known to many residents, though once a very important one. Like that at Bath, when Nash went there in 1748, it was the principal place of association. Dassell continues to state, that this Thursday was one of the weekly days of the Bowling Green, whereon usually was a club-meeting to dine, and afterwards to recreate themselves at bowls. The said Mr. Tye being one of that company, and it being near one o'clock, it was

wondered by them that he stayed so long on board, and it was concluded that he was either well entertained or detained.

The seamen who happened to be on the Bowling Green after dinner gave their opinion that the detention was either owing to the excellence of the entertainment on board, or else from the freshness of the off-shore wind, which would make it difficult for the boat to pull ahead. They took the vessels to be Dutch or French built, which increased the suspicion of the players; but all believed not bound for Lyme, as they showed no colours nor fired guns.

It was now five o'clock, the usual time for the post to come in. The mayor, with several of the corporation, went to the post-house. The post brought a public weekly news-letter (newspaper); in which was mentioned, that some days before his Majesty had an account of three ships that had been laded with arms and doubly manned from some port of Holland entered there for the East Indies, but now supposed by the English ambassador to be intended either for England or Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth was aboard. This greatly strengthened the doubts entertained of the vessels then off Lyme.

That some Dissenters of Lyme may have known what was likely to happen, either from having been informed by letters, or by communication with parties in the secret, is not impossible. But the Nonconformist minister was in gaol; and every thing that can be gathered shows that no party in that borough made any demonstration upon the appearance of the three vessels. The persecution of this party had been so hot that probably the number and consideration of those who remained in the borough were insignificant.

After returning from the post-house, the mayor, and some of his brethren, the capital burgesses, repaired to that lovely spot the Church Cliffs, which existed as the mall since the commencement of the present century. There was before 1811 no walk westward from the street by the assembly-rooms. The look-out was a charming extent of green sward above the church.*

As they stood observing, the vessels kept on plying inshore, but made little way against the wind, so that the spectators grew weary of staying on the cliffs.

The mayor, with Captain William Floyer, of Berne, near Charmouth, Dassell, and two or three others, retired to a tavern to consider what course should be taken. Dassell thought the ships meant ill, and that the men on board might be rogues, and requested the mayor that a great gun might be fired off the shore to command the King's boat on shore, or answer, if friends, the salute. The mayor thought this reasonable, had there been any powder and shot; but that being wanting, Dassell said he knew not what would be done.† The mayor appeared very uneasy; and it then drawing near sunset, a quarter after eight, the mayor went out again, and then he spied the King's boat, with three others, full of armed men, rowing inshore, and the vessels within gunshot of the said town. Returning to the tavern, he gave orders for the drums (*i. e.* the town-drums) presently to beat, and Dassell ran out and met

* That spot, composed of inferior lias, is washed away, and the brink of the precipice is near the churchyard: still nothing is done to protect the base, and secure the sacred structure.

† This is a remarkable instance of the manner in which such affairs were managed when left to petty municipal bodies. In 1551, William Tudbold, merchant of Lyme Regis, left 20*s.* to the maintenance of the towne-gonnes. These beat off some French ships that attacked Lyme in 1513.

two merchant inhabitants, to whom he complained of the want of powder. One said he had some in the Cobb, in a vessel lately come from Barbadoes; and being requested, gave a token or order for the receipt of four barrels. Dassell ran to the Cobb, which he makes to be distant a mile from the place, an exaggeration of one half, and overtaking several seamen going to the Cobb, required their assistance, yet outrun them all, and came opposite the Cobb just as a boat had landed a single man from that structure, which did not at that period unite with the shore, but was at high water quite separated, and at some little distance. Dassell, wading up to his middle, got into this boat, when he presently saw, at not above pistol-shot on the west side of the Cobb, the custom-house boat, with three others (there were seven boats in the whole) of armed men, who landed in an instant, and with that expedition that Dassell feared being fired upon. Three barrels of powder were delivered; but the master of the vessel said he would keep one for his own defence, as his ship was his castle. Dassell told the master, that instead of firing powder in muskets, as he had begun to do, he had better load two great guns in his vessel with shot, to destroy the persons landing. The master refused, as he did not know if they were enemies or not. Dassell replied, be they what they may, they ought not to presume in such a hostile manner to land without first giving notice to the magistrates. Dassell and a boy rowed away to the Cobb-gate, the entrance of the town by the present assembly-rooms and custom-house; but before he arrived he saw the party, about 150 in number, including those who had joined, marching towards the town by the Stile-path, now diverted, which ran across the field at the back of the bonded stores, across the cliffs into Broad Street.

There were no houses at the Cobb at that period to interrupt Dassell's view.

Dassell, upon his arrival at the town, expected to meet the borough militia, or men for whose use the corporation kept a few muskets, for the cleaning of which entries appear in the archives; and upon festive occasions that body paid for beating the town drums. All that is known of the conduct of this borough force is that John Holloway, afterwards executed, was one who appeared in arms to oppose the Duke's landing; but not being properly supported, his captain having fled, he joined the Duke's party.

Dassell had been expeditious; but at such conjunctures a short time produces a great change, and now an insurrection had begun. All things were in confusion. He delivered the powder to two of the magistrates, and then espied the mayor riding out of the town. Going towards his house, Dassell saw the enemy, as he styles the party, marching, and many townsmen joining, and others rejoicing and crying out, "*A Monmouth! a Monmouth! — the Protestant religion!*"

These words produced a strange effect upon the mind of our active deputy searcher.* Without any communication from any one, he proceeded to meet the party, supposing that the largest ship was a frigate that had taken the Duke of Monmouth at sea, and for better security had set him ashore to send him up to London by land. So confident was he, that upon coming to the force he said, "Have you secured the Duke of Monmouth? That's bravely done, indeed!" These words do not appear to have been heard; or if

* The office is now consolidated with others, and the duty is performed by a comptroller.

so, produced no effect. Soon after, one of Monmouth's men said, if Dassell had a mind to see the Duke of Monmouth, he was the next man that marched before the colours single, the rest of his men in files. Dassell then went up, and marched by the Duke's side; and the mob increasing to kiss his hand, the Duke marched with great difficulty, putting them off with each hand. Dassell, upon seeing a woman come, whom the Duke kissed, asked her how she knew it was the Duke of Monmouth. She said she had lived in the service of his sister. Dassell entered into conversation with a follower, as to the intentions of the party, who told him "they came to fight the Papists."—"Why," said Dassell, "then your business is done, for there is none to fight you." "Why," said the man, "is not the Duke of York a Roman Catholic?" Dassell knew no such man. He was proceeding with fervent loyalty, when a soldier took offence, and talked of securing him, upon Dassell further asking him how long they intended staying in Lyme, and how far they intended to march.

Dassell withdrew; and meeting Mr. Anthony Thorold, they agreed to go into the field at the east end of the town, doubtless the Church Cliffs, since slipped into the sea, where the Duke's party had set up their colours. On their way they met a party of the invaders returning back into the town, who immediately took possession of the forts, Gun Cliff, and the fort west of the Cobb-gate. A blacksmith, named Jackson, had broken open the town-hall door.

In the field they saw the standard set up, and the Duke standing by, and a writer with him enlisting men. William Cox was the first to enter. The Duke had one Bernard Brown by the hand, and asked him, "Art thou for me?" He answered, "Yes, sir." The Duke

said, "Thou art an honest fellow: I'll take care and provide for thee; thou deservest encouragement;" assuring him that he should want for none, and that he had arms enough for him and ever so many more: be they twenty or thirty thousand men, he had arms enough for all." This Bernard Brown, a mason, kept an alehouse: he had joined, as appears in the archives of the Lyme corporation, marching with a musket on his shoulder, and announced to an exciseman, "that Monmouth was come, blessed be God." His wife's case has been, however, most frequently alluded to, which will have to be related.

Lord Grey was pointed out with a musket on his shoulder, and a pair of pistols at his girdle, as all or most of the party had at their landing. The Duke was in purple, with a star on his breast, wearing only a sword.

Dassell's narrative is to be continued. At present the proceedings on board the frigate, the landing, and other information, claim attention.

When Colonel Venner returned to the ship, having landed Dare and Chamberlain at Seatown, he brought news of the Duke of Albemarle being at Exeter, and that the Somersetshire forces were afoot, and at Taunton.

Upon which, says Wade, the Duke consulted whether they ought to land; and it was resolved that they ought. This clearly upsets a common opinion, that all was ready for a rebellion, and the populace prepared, and anxiously expecting Monmouth's arrival. The inhabitants of Lyme for many hours of this day thought nothing of Monmouth or invasion. Had the council held on board the frigate taken a less sanguine view of affairs, some other spot would have been selected for a landing.

The Duke of Monmouth having ordered that the vessels should draw as near as they could to the shore, landed, from seven boats, eighty-three individuals, including himself, upon the beach west of the Cobb, within pistol-shot of that structure. This was done "with some order," as Bishop Burnet states, "but with too much daylight, which discovered how few the numbers were."

The Duke called for silence, and then desired, says the narrator, they would join with him in returning God thanks for that wonderful preservation they had met with at sea in escaping the King's fleet. He fell on his knees on the sand — an act of devotion which all the rest imitated, and "was the mouth of all in a short ejaculation."* This was a moment of excitement. Hooke, the Duke's own chaplain, and Ferguson the chaplain of the army, were silent. The Duke then drew his sword, and the party entered the town, as before described, by some part of the stile-path, and along the cliffs just above the present walk to the Cobb, which has only been made a few years, into Broad Street, thus avoiding the guns of the fort to the west of the assembly-rooms. †

* New Martyrology.

† Had Monmouth succeeded, an historical painting would have ennobled the spot where he landed; banners and glittering armour must have graced the men of manly port, his followers, while crowds of enthusiastic townsmen would, by their gestures, have expressed their joy. The Prince of Orange prospered; and Northcote has composed a fine picture, called the Landing of King William III. Blewitt, in his Panorama of Torquay, describes, in a few, but satisfactory words, a scene which the painter has indeed dignified. The King, in broken English, addressed a few fishermen, one of whom, a diminutive man, walked into the water, and carried the Prince ashore on his back.

Mr. Bagster, the publisher of the Polyglot Bible, Paternoster Row, London, whose family was originally from Lyme, has a traditional account of an ancestor, Lieutenant Bagster, R.N., who was solicited to join the Duke, but refused. The account of his assisting the Duke ashore cannot be correct.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1685.

Declaration is read. — Remarks. — Delight of the multitude. — Ferguson wrote the Declaration. — Comments. — Disney prints. — The DECLARATION, with notes and extracts from the Declaration of Rights, showing that there is a remarkable agreement between the two documents. — Votes of the House of Commons, &c. &c.

ON arriving at the market-place, the Duke of Monmouth caused his force to halt; while his Declaration or Manifesto was read to the populace, who stood round a blue flag there. The reading of this document was no more formal, perhaps, than necessary, as few could read or write at that period.

The Declaration, of which so few in the present day have ever seen a copy, or know of the existence of one, was in quarto, on four leaves. The scarcity is not to be wondered at, when we consider the terrible fate that awaited any one found "publishing, dispensing, or entertaining (the Declaration) without discovering it to the nearest justice of the peace."* It was suppressed in Holland, by order of the Prince of Orange, issued June 27.†

"Monmouth's Declaration" are words that fall dead upon the ear: their interest is mainly gone, except with some whose forefathers were won by that document to participate in the perils that ensued upon its publication, and who, from their youth, have often conversed about this period.

There are many studies which require long introduc-

* See London Gazette for June 15. to June 18., for the Proclamation, &c.

† D'Avaux.

tion before certain beauties can be perceived, much more appreciated: even so with this document. A knowledge of the æra, its spirit, tone, and an intimate acquaintance with the topics of complaint and the standard of belief of the evils and their causes, are necessary before we can form any adequate conception of the feelings of those who heard it read.

"Here," says an inhabitant of Lyme in the nineteenth century, "Monmouth's Declaration was read." The fact is coldly communicated, and not improperly so, as all feeling on the subject is lost. How differently couched is the language of the year 1685. The Duke "gave forth his Declaration to restore liberty to the people of God, for the worship of God, to preserve the rights and privileges of the nation," &c.* Those who spoke in such terms saw a present termination of the barbarities which they had so long experienced, and a removal of those evils, real or imaginary, which they had learnt to believe were impending over the state. In a word, the hearers were persuaded they neither enjoyed the great blessings of civil and religious liberty, but that the Declaration assured them of both.

Burnet is correct that this "manifesto was long and ill-penned; full of much black and dull malice:" but it coincided perfectly with the prejudices and passions of those to whom it was principally addressed.† Its lines fell harmoniously upon the ears of the discontented, the persecuted, the excited, whether in religion or politics. Well did they call forth the most ardent expressions of joy and hope which are illustrated in the following extract from the MS. "Church Book" of the Axminster Independent Chapel: —

* Axminster church book of the Independent Chapel.
† Ralph.

"Now were the hearts of the people of God gladdened, and their hopes and expectations raised, that this man might be a deliverer for the nation, and the interest of Christ in it, who had been even harrassed out with trouble and persecution, and were broken with the weight of oppression under which they had long groaned. Now also they hoped that the day was come in the which the good old cause of God and religion, that had lain as dead and buried for a long time, would revive again."

Ferguson wrote the Declaration, and brought it to Dare's house at Amsterdam.*

Some of Argyle's friends having shown their Declaration to Monmouth, were "there called on to consider that for England; and after arguing and amendment settled it, and adjusted the two to one and the same purpose in the declarative part; the narratives being fitted to the different circumstances of the two nations."†

The Scotch manifesto was only directed to make provision for a particular mode of the Protestant religion; the English one for the great interests of civil liberty.‡

In speaking of the deep feeling and enthusiasm of those who listened to the Declaration, and the perfect coincidence of its sentiments with the prejudices and passions of those to whom it was principally addressed, it must not be understood that all classes were pleased with it.

Much was disagreeable to the friends of monarchy,

* Buccleugh MS., &c. † Sir P. Hume's Narrative, p. 37.
‡ Dalrymple.

as it seemed to impair it too much. The manifesto was otherwise imprudent, says Dalrymple.

The insinuation of Monmouth's right to take the crown expressed thus — "doth not at present insist upon his title; but leaves the determination thereof to the wisdom, justice, and authority of a parliament," &c., — made the Republicans cold in the cause.

The promising toleration to all Protestant Dissenters, at a time when the Church of England and the Dissenters were not, as they afterwards were at the Revolution, reconciled to each other, was disobliging to the Church.

The junction of interests with Argyle, who made the Covenant the basis of his insurrection, alarmed those who were friends to the constitution in church and state.

And by complaining to excess of the proceedings of the parliament, then sitting, it provoked the members.*

We learn from Mr. Battiscomb's examination, that Mr. William Disney printed the Declaration. William Disney, Esq. was arrested in Lambeth, June 15.; and the forms in type of the Duke of Monmouth's Declaration were found, as well as 750 partly printed, and five perfect copies. He was tried, June 25., and executed June 29., on Kennington Common, and his quarters were ordered to be fixed on the city gates.† In a letter among the Sunderland Papers at the State Paper Office, August 12. 1865 (vol. ii. 277.), addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, his Grace is informed that "the King would have Mr. Disney set at liberty upon bail." D'Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, wrote

* Dalrymple.

† Narcissus Luttrell's Brief Relation, MS. in All Souls' Library, quoted in Howell's State Trials, xi. 465.

that the Declaration was printed in Flemish, French, and English, but was supposed (erroneously) to have been written in Flemish, because it ran best in that language.

The great inherent fault of Monmouth's manifesto really is the attributing crimes to James II. personally and individually. The language appears exaggerated, in the statements of the burning of London, the conduct of the judges, &c. When we feel this to be so, are we testing this document by the opinions of the nineteenth or those of the seventeenth century? How very different will be our conclusions, if we confound the views of these two periods. To many every act of William III.'s glorious accession is right and praiseworthy; while the proceedings of the Duke of Monmouth are rash, unsuccessful — and deservedly so; and, in a word, the very opposite of any thing that proved triumphant at the Revolution. Such persons will be surprised to learn the unity of sentiment between the Duke's Declaration and that of the Declaration of Rights. The famous Bill of Rights is only a regular act of the legislature that followed some months after the Declaration of Rights. Ferguson wrote what were the opinions and grievances of the time. Some of these, and those the mose striking, have been subsequently set forth by the representative body of the nation. In order to rescue the Duke of Monmouth's Declaration from the grave charges of folly, wickedness, and untruth that attach to it in the minds of many, sentences extracted from the Declaration of Rights, Commons' Journals, &c., have been inserted, to confirm the views advanced in the few preceding lines.

The DECLARATION of JAMES DUKE of MONMOUTH, and the *Noblemen, Gentlemen,* and others now in *arms* for the Defence and Vindication of the *Protestant Religion,* and the *Laws, Rights,* and *Privileges* of *England,* from the invasion made upon them; and for delivering the kingdom from the usurpation and tyranny of JAMES DUKE of YORK.

(Collated with the copy among the Bridgman Papers, Brit. Mus. Lansdown, 1152—1265. The copy in the New Martyrology is incorrect to an extraordinary extent.)

" As *Government* was originally instituted by *God,* and *this* or *that* Form of it chosen and submitted to by *Men,* for the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the *Governed,* and not for the private Interest and personal Greatness of those that Rule: So *that Government* hath always been esteemed the *best* where the Supreme Magistrates have been vested with all the Power and Prerogatives that might capacitate them, not only to preserve the people from Violence and Oppression, but to promote their *Prosperity;* And yet where nothing was to belong to them by the Rules of the Constitution that might enable them to injure and oppress them.

" And it hath been the glory of *England* above most other Nations that the *Prince* had all entrusted with him that was necessary either for the advancing the Welfare of the People, or for his own protection in the discharge of his office; and withal stood so limited and restrained by the Fundamental Terms of the *Constitution,* that without violation of his own oath, as well as the rules and measures of the *Government,* he could do them no hurt, or exercise any act of *Authority,* but through the administration of such hands as stood obnoxious to be punished in case they transgressed:

So that, according to the *Primitive Frame* of the *Government*, the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Privileges of the Subject, were so far from justling one another, that the Rights reserved unto the *people* tended to render the *King* honourable and great; and the Prerogatives settled on the *Prince* were in order to the Subjects' Protection and Safety.

"But all humane things being liable to Perversion as well as decay, it hath been the fate of the *English Government* to be often changed, and wrested from what it was in the first settlement and institution. And we are particularly compelled to say, that all the boundaries of the Government have of late been broken, and nothing lett unattempted, for turning our *limited Monarchy* into an *absolute Tyranny*. For such hath been the Transactions of Affairs within this Nation for several years last past, that though the *Protestant Religion* and *Liberties* of the People were fenced and hedged about by as many *laws* as the wisdom of man could devise for their Preservation against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* our *Religion* hath been all along undermined by *Popish Councils*, and our *privileges* ravished from us by Fraud and Violence. And more especially, the whole course and series of the life of the present *Usurper* hath been but one continued conspiracy against the Reformed Religion, and Rights of the Nation.

'Whereas the late King James II., by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the *Protestant Religion* and the *Laws* and *Liberties* of this kingdom.' *Declaration of Rights.* 'Assuming a power of dispensing with and *suspending of laws* and the *execution of laws* without the consent of Parliament.' *Id.* 'Causing several good subjects, Protestants, to be *disarmed* when Papists were armed and employed contrary to Law.' *Id.* 'Prosecution in the King's Bench for matters cognizable only in parliament, and by divers other arbitrary and illegal causes.' *Id.* 'Excessive bail has been required of

persons committed in criminal cases to elude the laws made for the benefit of the subject.' *Id.*

" For whosoever considers his contriving the *Burning of London.*

'Resolved, *nem. con.*, that it is the opinion of this House that the city of *London* was *burnt* in the year 1666 by the *Papists;* designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power into the kingdom. 10 Jan. 1681.' *Commons' Journals.*

'Prejudiced as the Commons were, they could hardly have imagined the Catholics to have burned the city out of mere malevolence; but must have attributed the crime to some far-spreading plan of subverting the established constitution.' *Hallam's Constitutional Hist.*, 243. 'This view of the subject recalls to recollection the throwing down in one night all the statues of Hermes, except one, at Athens, as mentioned by Cornelius Nepos in his life of Alcibiades. This was referred to some far-spreading plan.'

'The King Charles II. and Duke of York held a consultation with these two ministers, and with Lord Arundel of Wardour, 25 Jan., 1669, to discuss the ways and methods fit to be taken for the advancement of the Catholic religion in these kingdoms. The King spoke earnestly, and with tears in his eyes. After a long deliberation, it was agreed that there was no better way to accomplish this purpose than through FRANCE; the House of Austria being in no condition to give any assistance.' *Hallam's Constitutional Hist. Life of James,* 441., vol. ii. 246.; *Macpherson,* 50.'*

" His instigating a confederacy with *France* and a War with Holland; his fomenting the *Popish Plot,* and encouraging the *Murther of Sir Ed. Godfrey* to stifle it; his forging *Treason* against *Protestants,* and *suborning Witnesses* to swear the *Patriots* of our Religion and Liberties out of their lives; his hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late *Earl of Essex,* and causing several others to be clandestinely cut off, in hopes to conceal it; his advising and procuring the *Prorogation* and *Dissolution* of Parliaments, in order to prevent inquiry into his crimes, and that he might escape the *justice* of the Nation: such can imagine

* This was the real Popish plot.

nothing so black and horrid in itself or so ruinous and destructive to religion and the kingdom which we may not expect from him, upon his having *invaded* the *Throne*, and *usurped* the title of a King. The very *Tyrannies* which he hath exercised since he snatched the *Crown* from his brother's head do leave none under a possibility of flattering themselves with hope of safety either in their Consciences, Persons, or Estates.

(It is to this part of this manifesto that Fox's censures so particularly apply: 'This was by far the most guilty act of this unfortunate man's life, his lending his name to the declaration published at Lyme, which was advised and penned by Ferguson. The guilt of calumny of the most atrocious kind was heightened when we observe, that from no conversation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumstance whatever, do we collect, that he himself believed the horrid accusations to be true. Monmouth set his hand to whatever Ferguson recommended.')

"For in defiance of all the Laws and Statutes of the *Realm*, made for the security of the *Reformed Protestant Religion*, he not only began his usurpation and pretended reign with a barefaced avowing himself of the *Romish Religion*, but hath called in multitude of *Priests* and Jesuits (for whom the law makes it *treason* to come into the Kingdom), and hath empowered them to exercise their *Idolatries*, and, besides his being daily present at the worship of the *Mass*, hath publickly assisted at the *grossest* Fopperies of their *Superstition*. Nor hath he been more tender in trampling upon the *Laws*, which concern our *Properties*, seeing by two proclamations, whereof the one requires the collecting of the *Customs*, and the other the continuing that part of the *Excise* which was to expire with the late King's death, he hath violently, and against all the law of the Land, broken in upon our *Estates*.

'Levying money for and to the use of the Crown, by pretence

of prerogative, for other time, and in other matter, than the same was granted by parliament.' *Declaration of Rights.*

'James II. took the bold step of issuing a Proclamation for the payment of customs, which, by law, expired at the late King's death.' *Hallam's Constitutional Hist. of England.*

"Neither is it any extenuation of his Usurpation and Tyranny that he is countenanced in it by an *extra judicial opinion of seven or eight suborned and foresworn Judges;* that rather declaring the greatness and extent of the Conspiracy against our Rights, and that there is no means left for our relief but by *Force* and *Arms;* for advancing those to the *Bench* who were the scandal of the *Bar;* and constituting those very men to *declare* the *Laws* who were accused and branded in Parliament for *perverting them;* we are precluded all hopes of redress in *Westminster Hall.*

'Algernon Sydney's expression is here paraphrased: "Lest the means of destroying the best Protestants in England should fail, the Bench was filled with such as had been *blemishes* to the *Bar.*"' *Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.* 'Scroggs, Saunders, and Jeffreys were intemperate and scandalous in their private conduct, savage and merciless in the exercise of their public functions: they were fawning to their sovereign, indulgent to themselves, insolent and overbearing to the prisoners who obtained at their bar the appearance of a trial.' *Lord J. Russell's Life of Lord W. Russell.*

'A state-trial was merely a murder preceded by the uttering of certain gibberish and the performance of certain mummeries.' *Macaulay's Review of Sir J. Mackintosh's Hist. of the Revolution.*

'We see villanies as black as ever were imputed to any prisoner at any bar daily committed on the bench and in the jury-box. The abandoned judges of our own country committed murder with their eyes open.

'The tribunals were, before the Revolution, an unclean public shambles, to which each found the same venal and ferocious butchers waiting for its custom.' *Macaulay's Review of Sir J. Mackintosh's Hist. of the Revolution.*

'Sir Heneage Finch Lord Nottingham committed one great indecency in his eloquent speech in passing judgment upon Lord

Stafford, for he said, Burnet writes, "Who can doubt any longer that London was burnt by the Papists?" though there was not one word in the whole trial relating to the matter.' *North's Life of Lord Keeper Guilford.* 'The history of the time abounds with such shameful conduct. Never were tribunals so disgraced by the brutal manners and iniquitous partiality of the bench.' *Hallam's Constitutional History*, 294. 'And whereas of late years partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on Juries; particularly in cases for high treason, jurors not freeholders.' *Declaration of Rights.* 'Grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.' *Declaration of Rights.*

"And through packing together by *False Returns*, *new Illegal Charters* and other corrupt means, a company of men which he intends to stile a parliament, he doth at once deprive us of all expectation of *Succour* where our ancestors were wont to find it; and hopes to render *that* which ought to be the people's *Fence* against *Tyranny*, and the Conservator of their Liberties, the means of subverting all our *Laws*, and of establishing of his *arbitrariness*, and confirming our thraldom.

'Violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament.' *Declaration of Rights.* 'Some "hole was picked" in the charters.' *See at the State Paper Office, in Sir L. Jenkins's Collection, Domestic.* 'The charter of St. Ives was forfeited because the borough had four constables instead of three; that of Oxford because it had five aldermen instead of four, &c.' *North's Examen.* 'Several of the new charters had restricted the right of voting for members of parliament to certain bodies in the interest of the Crown. The Earl of Bath carried down with him into Cornwall no fewer than fifteen charters, so that some called him the Prince Elector. The Earl put the names of various officers of the guards into almost all the charters of Cornwall.' *North's Examen.* 'Sir John Lowther, subsequently Lord Lonsdale, said this amounted to a disseising of the subject of his freehold without a trial. The motion of Sir John Lowther was got rid of.' *Lingard.*

"So that *unless* we could be contented to see the

reformed Protestant Religion, and such as profess it, extirpated, Popish *Superstition* and *Idolatry* established, the Laws of the Land trampled under foot, the *Liberties* and Rights of the *English People* subverted, and all that is *sacred* and *civil*, or of regard amongst men of piety or virtue, violated, and an *usurper* tyrannising on the throne; and unless we could be willing to be *slaves* as well as *Papists*, and forget the example of our noble and generous *ancestors*, who conveyed our Privileges to us at the expense of their blood and treasure; and withal be unmindful of our *duty* to *God*, our *Country and Posterity*, deaf to the Cries and Groans of our *oppressed Friends*, and be satisfied, not only to see *them* and *ourselves* Imprisoned, Robbed, and Murthered, but the *Protestant Interest* throughout the whole World betrayed to *France* and *Rome*, We are bound as *men* and *Christians*, and that in discharge of our duty to *God* and our *Country*, and for satisfaction of the *Protestant Nations* round about us, to betake ourselves to *Arms;* Which we take Heaven and Earth to witness we should not have done, had not the malice of our enemies deprived us of all other means of redress, and were not the *miseries* we already feel, and *those* which do further threaten us, worse than the calamities of *War*.

"And it is not for any *personal* Injuries or private discontents, nor in pursuance of any corrupt Interest, that we take our Swords into our hands; but for *vindicating* our *Religion*, *Laws* and *Rights*, and rescuing our *Country* from Ruin and Destruction, and for preserving our Selves, Wives, and Children from *Bondage and Idolatry*, wherefore before God, Angels, and men, we stand acquitted from, and do charge upon our *Enemies*

all the Slaughters and Devastations that unavoidably accompany an *intestine* War.

Now therefore we do solemnly *declare* and *proclaim war* against JAMES DUKE OF YORK, as a murderer and an assassin of innocent men; a *Popish usurper* of the crown; *Traitor* to the *Nation*, and *Tyrant* over the People. And we would have none that appear under his *Banners* to flatter themselves with expectation of forgiveness, it being our firm resolution to prosecute *him* and his *Adherents*, without giving way to *treaties* or *Accommodations*, until we have brought *him*, and *them*, to undergo what the *Rules* of the Constitution, and the *Statutes* of the Realm, as well as the *Laws* of *Nature*, *Scripture*, and *Nations*, adjudge to be punishment due to the *Enemies* of God, Mankind, their Country, and all things that are honourable, virtuous, and good.

"And though we cannot avoid being sensible that too many have, from *Cowardice*, *Covetousness*, and *Ambition*, co-operated to the subverting our Religion, and enslaving their Country; yet we would have none, from a *despair* of finding mercy, persevere in their *Crimes*, nor continue to pursue the ruin of the kingdom: For we exclude none from the benefit of *Repentance*, that will joyn with us in retrieving what they have been accessory to the loss of; nor do we design *revenge* upon any but the *obstinate*, and such as shall be found at this juncture yielding *aid* and *assistance* to the said James Duke of York.

"And that we may both govern ourselves in the pursuit of this *glorious cause*, wherein we are engaged, and give encouragement to all that shall *assist us* in so righteous and necessary an undertaking, we do, in the *presence* of the *Lord, who knoweth the Secrets of all hearts*, and is the avenger of deceit and falsehood,

proclaim and publish *what* we aim at, and for the obtaining *whereof* we have both determined to venture and are ready to lay down our Lives. And though we are not come into the *field* to introduce *Anarchy* and *Confusion*, or for laying aside any *essential part of the old English Government;* yet our purpose and resolutions are, to reduce things to that *temperament* and *Balance* that *future Rulers* may remain able to do all the *good* that can be either desired or expected from them; and it may not be in their power to invade the *rights* and infringe the *Liberties* of the People.

"And whereas our *Religion* (the most valuable *blessing* we lay claim unto) hath been shaken by *unjust Laws*, undermined by *Popish Counsels*, and is now in danger to be subverted by a *tyrannous* and *Idolatrous usurper:* We are therefore resolved to spend our Blood for preserveing it to ourselves and Posterity; nor will we lay down our Arms till we see it established and secured beyond all probability of being subplanted and overthrown; and until all the *Penal Laws* against *Protestant Dissenters* be repealed, and legal Provision made against their being disturbed by reason of their *Consciences*, and for their enjoying an equal liberty with *other Protestants.*

'Resolved, *nem. con.*, That it is the opinion of this House that the Prosecution of Protestant Dissenters upon the penal laws is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening of the Protestant interest, an encouragement to Popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. 10 *Jan.* 1681.'—*Commons' Journals.*]

"And that the Meekness and Purity of our *Principles*, and the Moderation and Righteousness of our *ends*, may appear unto all men; We do declare, that we will not make *War* upon or destroy *any* for their *religion*, how false and erroneous soever: so that the very

Papists, provided they withdraw from the tents of our enemies, and be not found Guilty of conspiring our Destruction, or Abettors of them that seek it, have nothing to fear or apprehend from us, except what may hinder their altering our *Laws*, and endangering our *persons* in the Profession of the Reformed Doctrine, and exercise of our Christian Worship.

(This clause has led Sir John Reresby in his Memoirs to the erroneous conclusion, that the Duke of Monmouth promised liberty of conscience to all kinds of people, "Papists not excepted." Roman Catholics are not commanded, as in Charles I.'s time, to leave the country by a certain day under pain of death; the sword is not drawn gainst them as Roman Catholics, but the position in which they are placed is very undefined.)

"Our resolution in the next place is, to maintain all the just *Rights* and *Privileges* of *Parliament*, and to have Parliaments annually chosen and held, and not prorogued, dissolved, or discontinued within the year, before Petitions be first answered, and Grievances redressed.

"And seeing many of the Miseries under which the Nation doth groan arise from displacing such out of the number of *Judges* as would not, for Promoting Popish and Arbitrary designs, wrest and misapply the *Laws*, and from *constituting corrupt* and *mercenary* Men in their Rooms on purpose to stretch the Laws beyond the reason and intention of them, and to declare that for *Law* which is not; We can neither with silence pass over the mentioning of them, nor should we have peace in ourselves, if we did not endeavour to prevent the like mischiefs in time to come. For by reason of ill Men's being advanced to the Bench and holding their places only '*durante bene placito*,' many persons have been condemned in exorbitant Fines for *no* crimes, or for very *small ones*.

'Excessive fine imposed.' *Declaration of Rights.* '23. Dec. 1680. Sir Richard Corbett reported from the Committee appointed to examine the Proceedings of the Judges in Westminster Hall various cases of great interest, and concluded with— "Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Court of King's Bench, in the imposition of fines on offenders of late years, hath acted arbitrarily, illegally, and partially; favouring Papists and persons popishly affected; and excessively oppressing his Majesty's subjects."'

"Many Statutes made for the safety of the subject, particularly the *Habeas Corpus* Act, hath been wickedly eluded, to the oppression of Innocent and Loyal men; the Popish Lords that were impeached in Parliament for a most hellish conjuration have, to the subverting the rights of the House of Commons, and trampling on the jurisdiction of the *House of Lords*, been *discharged and set free.* The imposing a malignant *Mayor* and *Sheriffs* upon the City of *London*, by fraud and violence, hath been justified, and those who, in the discharge of their duty, opposed it, illegally prosecuted, and arbitrarily punished; London, and other Cities and Corporations have been robb'd of their *Charters*, upon unrighteous judgments of pretended forfeitures; *Sir Thomas Armstrong* executed without being allowed the Benefit of a Trial; *Col. Algernon Sidney* condemned to die, upon the deposition of one *scandalous Witness;* and that Loyal and Excellent Person, the late *William Lord Russell, Murdered*, for alleged crimes, in reference to which, if all had been truth which was sworn against him, yet there was nothing that, according to Law, could have reached his Life: Wherefore we do, upon the Considerations aforesaid, further declare, that we will have care taken for the future, for debarring *ignorant, scandalous*, and *mercenary* Men from the Administration of *Justice*, and that the *Judges* shall hold their places by the antient

Tenure of *Quam diu se bene gesserint;* and do leave it to the Wisdom of a Parliament to settle some way and method for the Approbation of such as shall be advanced to the Degree and Dignity of *Judges.*

"And for as much as the Invasion made on the rights of Cities, Burroughs, and Towns Corporate, in the seizure of their *Charters,* whether by surrender, or upon pretence of Forfeiture, hath been wholly arbitrary and illegal; We likewise therefore declare, that we will to our utmost endeavour to see them re-possessed in whatsoever they formerly had and could legally claim before the late usurpation upon them; and that we do esteem all Judgments given against them, and all surrenders made by a corrupt and perjured party among themselves, *null and void in law;* and do hold and declare their *old Charters* (notwithstanding the new ones lately granted,) to be *good* and *valid:* And accordingly we do invite and encourage all honest *Burgesses* and *Freemen* to re-assume the Rights and Privileges, which, by virtue of the said Old Charters, belonged to their several and respective Corporations, and to deliver themselves from those Court Parasites and Instruments of Tyranny set up to oppress them.

"Moreover, for restoreing the Kingdom to its Primitive Condition of Freedom and Safety, we will have the *Corporation and Militia Acts* repealed, and all *outlawries of Treason* against any person whatsoever upon the late Pretended *Protestant Plot* reversed; and also all other Outlawries, Banishments, Warrants, Judgments, Imprisonments, Abjurations, and proceedings against any other persons, *upon any of the Penal Statutes made against Protestant Dissenters,* reversed and made *null and void;* and we will have new Laws enacted

for placing the election of *Sheriffs* in the *Freeholders* of the several Counties for settling the *Militia* in the respective Sheriffs, and for preventing all *Military standing Force*, except what shall be raised and kept up by Authority and consent of *Parliament.*

'Raising and keeping a standing army in time of peace without consent of Parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to Law.' *Declaration of Rights.*

"And whereas several gentlemen and others, who have been worthy and zealous Asserters of the Protestant Interest, and Laws of the Kingdom, are now in custody in divers prisons within the Realm, upon most unjust Accusations, Pretences, Proceedings, and Judgments; We do hereby further declare their said Imprisonments to be *illegal,* and that in case any violence shall be offered to them, or any of them, we will revenge it to the utmost upon such of our enemies as shall fall into our hands.

"And whereas the said *James Duke of York,* in order to the expediting the Idolatrous and Bloody Designs of the Papists, the gratifying his own boundless Ambition after a Crown, and to hinder inquiry into his Assassination of *Arthur Earl of Essex*, hath poisoned the late King,* and therein manifested his Ingratitude, as well as cruelty to the world, in Murdering a *Brother,* who had almost ruined himself to preserve and protect him from punishment; We do therefore further declare, that for the aforesaid villanous and unnatural crime, and other his crimes before mentioned, and in pursuance of the *resolution* of both Houses of Parliament, who voted to

* The question respecting the Earl of Essex's death, as to having fallen by his own act or that of an assassin, has not been answered. The Declaration lays the charge of murder upon James, as if he had actually killed the Earl with his own hand! This is monstrous.

revenge the King's death in case he came to an untimely end, we will prosecute the said *James Duke of York* till we have brought him to suffer what the Law adjudged to be the punishment of so execrable a Fact. And in a more particular manner *his Grace the Duke of Monmouth,* being deeply sensible of that barbarous and horrid Parricide committed upon his *Father,* doth resolve to pursue the said James Duke of York as a mortal and bloody Enemy, and will endeavour, as well with his own hand as by the assistance of his Friends and the Law, to have Justice executed upon him.

"And forasmuch as the said *James Duke of Monmouth,* the *now head and Captain General of the Protestant Forces* of this Kingdom, assembled in pursuance of the ends aforesaid, hath been, and still is believed, to have a *legitimate* and *legal right* to the *Crowns* of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland,* with the dominions thereunto belonging, of which he doubts not in the least to give the world full satisfaction notwithstanding the means used by the late King his father, upon popish motives, and at the instigation of the said *James Duke of York,* to weaken and obscure it. *The said James Duke of Monmouth,* from the generousness of his own Nature, and the Love he bears to these Nations (whose welfare and settlement he infinitely prefers to whatsoever may concern himself), doth not at present insist upon his *Title,* but leaves the determination thereof to the *Wisdom, Justice,* and *Authority* of a *Parliament legally chosen, and acting with freedom;* and in the mean time doth profess and declare, by all that is sacred, that he will, in conjunction with the people of *England,* employ all the Abilities bestowed upon him by God and Nature for the Re-establishment and Preservation of the Protestant Reformed Religion in these Kingdoms,

and for restoring the Subjects of the same to a free exercise thereof, in Opposition to *Popery*, and *the consequences of it, Tyranny and Slavery:* To the obtaining of which ends he doth hereby promise and oblige himself to the People of *England*, to consent unto, and promote the passing into Laws all the Methods aforesaid, that it may never more be in the power of any single person on the Throne to deprive the Subjects of their Rights, or subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Government designed for their Preservation.

"And whereas the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons of *Scotland* are now in arms upon the like motives and inducements that we are, and in prosecution of ends agreeable with ours; We do therefore approve the *Justice* of their cause, commend their *Zeal* and *Courage*, expecting their, and promising *our, assistance* for carrying on that Glorious Work we are *jointly* engaged in.

"Being obliged, for avoiding Tediousness, to omit recounting *many Oppressions* under which the Kingdom hath groaned, and a giving a Deduction of the several steps that have been taken for introducing and establishing of Popery and Tyranny; We think fit therefore to signify both to our Countrymen and Foreigners that we intend a larger *Manifesto* and *Remonstrance* of the *Grievances, Persecutions, Cruelties,* and *Tyrannies* we have of late lain under, and therein a more full and particular account of the unparalleled crimes of the present Usurper.

"And we make our appeal unto *God*, and all *Protestant Kings, Princes, States,* and *People,* concerning the *Justice* of our cause, and the necessity we are reduced unto of having our recourse to *Arms.* And as we do beseech, require, and adjure all *sincere Protestants* and *true Englishmen* to be assisting to us against the enemies of the Gospel, Rights of the Nation, and Liber-

ties of Mankind. So we are confident of obtaining the utmost Aid and Succour which they can yield us with their *Prayers, Persons,* and *Estates* for the Dethroning the said *Tyrant* and *Popish Usurper.*

" Nor do we doubt being justified, countenanced, and assisted by all *Protestant Kings, Princes,* and *Commonwealths,* who do either regard the Gospel of Jesus Christ or their own Interest; and, above all, our dependence and trust is upon the *Lord of Hosts,* in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our Cause, and refer the Decision betwixt us and our Enemies in the *Day of Battle. Now let us play the men for our People, and for the cities of our God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto him.*"

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1685.

Enthusiasm and terror of the inhabitants of Lyme Regis. — Some imprisoned. — Followers. — Commissions given on board. — Numbers who join. — Cannon landed. — The Duke had been told the people had arms. — List of arms provided. — Defensive and offensive armour. — Those who supplied the funds abroad, and contributed after the landing. — Mayor of Lyme's letter to the King. — Intention of the mayor. — Dassell and Thorold ride express to London. — Interview with the King. — Monmouth stays at the George Inn. — FRIDAY, JUNE 12. Hundreds join. — Mode of enlisting. — Military operations. — A party make an expedition to Bridport. — Attack some militia horse, and retire. — Alarm of the Duke of Albemarle. — Strong party take up a position to defend Lyme. — Many of Monmouth's friends seized in many parts. — Posse comitatus of Dorset called out. — Mr. Christopher Battiscomb joins. — The gentlemen he had visited. — Remarks. — Monmouth becomes melancholy. — Arrivals. — Lord Wiltshire expected. — Anecdote from Dalrymple. — Sir W. Portman sends a servant to learn the number of the Duke's followers. — Venner and Hucker's brothers inform the magistrates of Taunton of the landing. — The King ignorant of Monmouth's landing. — Writes that if Monmouth was gone for Scotland, his frigates would take him. — Monmouth advised to land at Burlington Quay.

ENTHUSIASM was at its height. Terror also found its place in the breasts of the men of Lyme, who had much of this world's goods. In the midst of war's alarms many were occupied in burying their money, which in some instances was not recovered, as the possessors fled and never returned. The large sum discovered in 1786 at Lyme*, and at different times in other towns, on or near the route of Monmouth's march, was deposited in the earth at this period.

Grose, in his "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. iv. p. 665., gives a rare tract, in quarto, published in 1685,

* See History of Lyme, 166.

in which it is stated that divers of the inhabitants were imprisoned because they refused to join the party; and that the Duke's friends took what they thought convenient with them. Still, in the examination of rebels, captured some time after, entered in the archives of Lyme, there is nothing that warrants the supposition of violence. The receiving powder from Dassell would have probably brought the two magistrates into painful notice. An old woman named Curtis, who died not many years since, says her grandfather broke open the Guildhall door to give the Duke's party possession, ran away after the defeat, and never returned.

The followers of Monmouth who actually accompanied him from Holland were Lord Grey of Wark, Fletcher of Saltoun, and others, besides those whose names appear as having received commissions and appointments on shipboard. Excepting Lord Grey and Fletcher, a Scottish laird, no one appears to have been of rank; the officers were mostly unskilled in war.

COMMISSIONS GIVEN BY MONMOUTH ON SHIPBOARD, AS RECORDED BY WADE, THOUGH NOT PRINTED IN THE STATE PAPERS.

Captain Venner	to be Lieutenant Colonel.
Nathaniel Wade	— Major.
Richard Goodenough	— Eldest Captain.
Joseph Tily, or Tyley,	— Second Captain.
Lieutenant Thompson	— Third Captain.
James Hayes	— Fourth Captain.
—— Taylor	— Lieutenant to Venner, and Adjutant.
—— Dolby	— Youngest Lieut. to Wade.
John Cragg	— Ensign to Wade.

Mitchell Lillingston	to be	Lieutenants to R. Goodenough.
Thomas Dare, Jun.	—	Ensign to R. Goodenough.
William Hewling	—	Lieut. to Captain Tily.
Sanford	—	Ensign to Capt. Thompson.
Babbington	—	Ensign to Capt. Hayes.
Vincent	—	Ensign to the Duke.

APPOINTMENTS MADE ON BOARD.

White Regiment,	Foukes, Lieutenant Colonel.
———	Goodenough, First Captain.
Yellow Regiment,	Fox, Major.
Green Regiment,	Holmes, Lieutenant Colonel.
———	Parsons, Major.
———	Patchall, First Captain.
———	Blake Holmes, Ensign.

Heywood Dare, commonly called "Old Dare," was paymaster to the army.

Hooke was Monmouth's domestic chaplain. Dr. Temple, Dr. Gaylard, and Dr. Oliver were the surgeons.

Ferguson was chaplain to the army.

And many others, which Wade could not remember at the moment. He had been wounded, and was in a very weak state when examined.

Upon landing, sixty young fellows of the town, afterwards increased to eighty, offered their services, who were immediately enlisted, and had arms delivered to them. Mazure rates the number of men in Lyme capable of bearing arms at 800, who offered no resistance to the Duke's force.

The Duke's party was divided into three. Two-thirds were set to guard the avenues, and the remaining part to get the arms and ammunition from on board

the ships. Wade had the duty assigned him of getting the cannon on shore, and seeing them mounted, which he performed by break of day, being greatly assisted by the sailors and townsmen.*

The four small pieces of artillery, mounted on field-carriages, were the cannon landed at Lyme. James II. considered them to be more for the name than use. The mention of cannon and arms may mislead, so as to induce an opinion that followers alone were wanted; and that ample provision had been made for a campaign. In giving a list of the arms landed, it will be necessary to caution the reader against supposing that arms are to be read with the meaning that attaches to the word in the present day. In James II.'s reign defensive arms were not laid aside; and these figure in lists as much as offensive weapons. We read of Monmouth landing with cannon and arms (Echard says with arms for 5000 men), so are apt to conclude that an equal number of peasantry that eluded the vigilance of the watches and militia might, upon their arrival, have been converted into soldiers. Researches dispel this delusion, and prove how much stress may well be laid upon the accounts given at different points in the campaign, that men were to be found anxious to serve in great numbers, but that there were no arms to give them.

The impressions produced upon Monmouth's mind by the various incidents in his progresses were truly calamitous. When this expedition was determined on, a person named Crag was twice sent to Major Wildman from Holland, the first time for 6000*l.* or 4000*l.*, and at last for 1000*l.* Crag returned to Monmouth with this answer, that he and his friends did not know for what

* Wade. State Papers.

purpose money was wanted, except to buy arms; and that the *people were well provided already.* This Crag was afterwards sent to pawn Monmouth's jewels. The Duke of Monmouth had been attended by armed multitudes; and, we must suppose, believed from his own observation the truth of Wildman's assertion, and so proceeded on his expedition when he ought to have been fully prepared, or have given it up altogether.*

The following list of the arms provided must add to the number of those who judge this "a raw rebellion."

Harleian MS.	*Lord Grey's Account.*†
1500 Foot arms,	1460 Suits defensive arms,
1500 Cuirasses,	100 Musquets and bandeliers,
200 Barrels of gunpowder,	250 Barrels of powder,
Small quantity of grenades, match and other necessary articles.	500 Swords,
	500 Pikes,
All cost 3000*l.* nearly, including the four pieces of artillery.‡	A small number of double carbines and pistols.

The colours made in Holland had this motto: "*Pro religione et libertate.*" Argyle had purchased campaign coats, red, faced with purple.§ Echard says that most of the suits for 5000 men were "backs and breasts," which proved of little service after. Indeed, these were never out of the town-hall till captured. Defensive armour was now falling into disuse. The statute of 13 & 14 Car. II. orders the defensive arms of the cavalry to consist simply of a back and breast piece and a pot helmet. The wretched victims to hasty and rash under-

* Howell's State Trials, xi. 541.

† Account of the Rye-House Plot.

‡ Wade. — The expenses of King William III.'s expedition amounted to nearly 300,000*l.* The parliament voted a sum not to exceed 600,000*l.*

§ D'Avaux.

takings! How untrue were the words of the Duke spoken to Bernard Brown! The Duke of Monmouth did not bring more than 100*l.* in gold and silver!* Five hundred pounds were delivered to Monmouth in bills by Englishmen in Holland.

The Duke pawned his jewels, plate, and a great quantity of goods (most of which belonged to Lady Henrietta Wentworth and her mother), to Mr. Washington, for 32,000 guilders, which sum he received, and thought would have been sufficient till a sum of 6000*l.*, expected from England, should arrive. This sum never was sent. M. de Blund lent more money on the goods already pledged.† Mrs. Smith, the widow, who lent Argyle 8000*l.*,* advanced, on this occasion, 1000*l.*‡; M. Oylinbrooke, M. de Blund, and Mr. Bernardiston, gave the Duke money. Sir Patience Ward gave 500*l.*; Mr. William Rumball 100*l.*; Mr. Locke, an anabaptist (the great Lock), 400*l.* towards the hire (not the purchase) of the frigate of thirty-two guns, which was 5500*l.* The remaining sum the Duke furnished.* He declared the supplies all came from private; none from public hands.§ Mr. Locke (often written Look) had contributed, in the whole, 1000*l.*, and was to follow in five days with a considerable sum, which was to be collected from persons of his own acquaintance, who were well affected to the design.‖ It cannot, of course, be known what sums were sent by individuals in this country, who were impressed with the prevailing terror so frequently alluded to.

* Wade's confession. * Harleian MS. † Lord Grey's Account.
‡ Lansdown MS., 1152. Examination of W. Williams.
§ Buccleugh MS., quoted by Rose. — *Wade.*
‖ Buccleugh MS., quoted by Rose. Locke, the illustrious Englishman, had accompanied the Earl of Shaftesbury to Holland.

The amount could not have been considerable. In the examination of Capt. Marder, of Crewkerne, before the King, it appeared that Mr. Henry Henley, of Colway, Lyme, and Leigh, near Chard, one of a family of the country party, had sent the Duke by his man, Thomas Lawrence, at one time, 100*l.*, and the same sum at another.* Mr. W. Strode, of Barrington, also sent horses and money.* This presents a summary of the miserable preparations, in money and arms, for the expedition, far below any thing that could have been entertained as the *matériel* for open war against an established government. Williams, the Duke's servant, only knew of 900 and odd guilders; the party had ninety when they landed.†

In order to give a complete description of the events of the ever memorable 11th of June, it will be necessary to follow the mayor, whom Dassell saw riding out of the town as the Duke's force was entering it. His worship's letter to the King was despatched before the morning of the 12th, and was read to the House of Lords on the 13th June, and appears in their Journals of that date.

"*The Mayor of Lyme's Letter to his Majesty* was read:—‡

"Honiton, 11th June, 1685, near twelve at night.

"May it please your sacred Majesty,

"This evening, between seven and eight of the clock, there came in a great ship into the road of Lyme, not showing any colours; the off-side of the ship unseen by us on the shore: she filled five great boats full of men, which they speeded behind the Cobb, and so landed

* Lansdown MS., No. 1152. † Exam. Lansdown, 1152.
‡ Lords' Journals, Saturday, June 13. 1685.

them to the westward of the town: they went over the cliffs, and presently were in the town at least three hundred men, the Duke of Monmouth at the head of them, so that they became masters of the town. I presently, well knowing that I should be first seized, took my horse, and came with speed to this town, and gave notice to all the country as I came; and sent my servants, that notice should be given to Somerset and Dorsetshires; and I hope to be at Exeter, to give an account of it to the Duke of Albemarle within two hours.

"With the great ship, there is a ketch of about one hundred tons, and a fly-boat, which I judge to be about two hundred tons: neither of them had landed any men when I came thence; but we suppose them to be full of men.

"I find this place, and all the country, to be very ready to betake themselves to their arms against the rebels. In the morning, at Chideocke, in our bay, they landed two men; which I, understanding, sent by all ways to apprehend them. Whether they are taken, I know not: so I humbly beseech your Majesty to pardon this distracted relation, not doubting but they have plundered me.

"I am, your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

"GREGORY ALFORD, Mayor."

The name of this mayor, Gregory Alford, is familiar to all acquainted with the history of Lyme Regis. It appears in Dring's Catalogue among those of malignants who compounded for their estates; and Mr. Alford was imprisoned, on that account, during the memorable siege of Lyme. The fugitive mayor had

reported to Sir Leoline Jenkins, the secretary of state, his capture of thirty men and eighty women in the head conventicle at Lyme, having broken the doors, which were strongly barricaded. "To-morrow," writes this active persecutor, "I shall be on the Quakers and Anabaptists."* Captain Alford, in another letter about meeting at a great conventicle, a mile from Lyme, adds, "His Majesty knows I have had my share in suffering. I tell them it's great folly to be cheated twice, to believe them to be a peaceable people; I know they lie." Considering the immense deal of misery this individual had an opportunity of inflicting, during several years, the mayor exercised great discretion in having recourse to flight; and his fears, so strongly expressed, were not groundless.†

The information he spread drew from the neighbourhood of Honiton that staunch republican, Sampson Larke, the Anabaptist minister, who questioned the Duke, was satisfied with the principles his Grace professed to have adopted as his guide, and became a captain of horse.

The narrative was interrupted at the point where Dassell was with his brother officer of customs in the field in which the Duke and Lord Grey, &c. were enlisting men. His activity shines conspicuously throughout his narrative, which will be again pursued.

Dassell then left, and went home with Thorold, to provide themselves with money to proceed to Whitehall. They came otherwise unprovided with coat, boots, or any other accommodation, to avoid suspicion at their going out of the town. At the end of the

* Feb. 4. 1682.

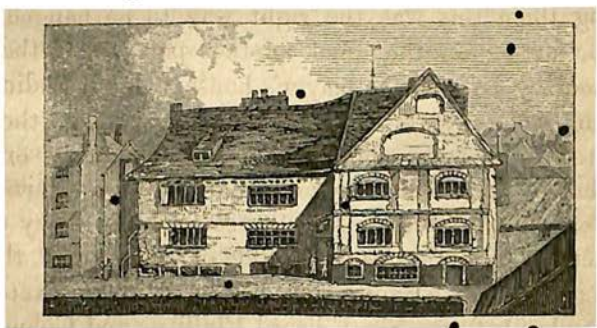
† Author's private collection from State Paper Office, &c.

lane (Hay Lane, leading to Uplyme) they met several countrymen going in, whom they asked where they were going that time of night, it being about *twelve* of the clock. They answered, "they understood the Duke of Monmouth was landed, and they were sent for to go to him." Dassell said, "It were better for them to go to their homes, and stay till the King sent for them; assuring them this was the right way to be hanged." A little farther on they met another party, and then came to Hay House, the mayor's house, where, finding no man, and only the mayor's daughter-in-law, they requested of her two horses, but obtained only one coach-horse, on which they rode double to Crewkerne, *ten miles* (really sixteen miles), agreeing by the way to send letters of notice to the Duke of Albemarle, the lord-lieutenant of Devon, who had arrived at Exeter the Sunday before, Sir Edward Phillips, and Colonel Lutterel, then at Taunton, which they despatched accordingly. They sent also for the constable of the place, and chief officer of the militia, informing them what had happened, desiring them to double their watches, and suffer none to go out of town; which course they continued at all the stages on the road.

Dassell and Thorold went to Sir Winston Churchill's, one of the burgesses for Lyme; who, with his son Lord Churchill, afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough, went to give an account, and bring them before his Majesty, to relate the same. About four o'clock, Saturday morning, 13th June, his Majesty received their account; called a council, before whom the messengers went over their statement. The King gave them 20*l.* each. They attended at the bar of the House of Commons; and it was upon their evidence

that the Bill of Attainder was brought in*, which the King signed June 16.

The Duke took up his residence at the George Inn, then the principal one of Lyme. It was an old hostelry. and had accommodation for a great number of pack-horses. It was often visited by the curious, till consumed in a great fire, May 11. 1844.



This concludes the events of the memorable Thursday, June 11.

Some hundreds came in before break of day, the news being quickly spread about the country; though the next day, Saturday the 13th, was that on which such great numbers flocked into Lyme.

The method of receiving the men was this. The Duke caused their names to be taken, and sent them by a messenger with the list of the names to the town-hall, where the arms were, and persons to give them out, who immediately armed and sent them by other messengers to the officers who guarded the avenues, where they were put in order and exercised.†

* On a subsequent occasion, the officer who rode to inform James of the landing of the Prince of Orange, before he had finished his account, fell exhausted at the King's feet. — *Wallace's Continuation of Sir J. Mackintosh's History of England.*

† Wade.

A few hours only had elapsed since the landing was effected, when it was necessary to commence military operations in two directions, both east and west, to prevent followers from being arrested on their way at Bridport; and to meet and keep in check the Duke of Albemarle's forces, the militia of Devon, of which he was lord-lieutenant.

Wade states that, upon intelligence that there were several persons in Bridport ready to join the Duke, if the way was clear of the constable's guard then kept in the town, Major Manley was sent with fifteen horse, mounted for the most part by officers and gentlemen, who had come over with the Duke, to bring off those who were willing to join. But they found not only the constable's watch, but a troop of militia horse to oppose them, which the Major charged and routed, killing two of the troopers; and finding them supported by a greater force, retreated to Lyme without pursuit, or a man wounded.

At the close of this day the Duke's forces amounted to a thousand foot, and one hundred and fifty horse. This appears in Wade's account of the marching out upon a false alarm of the Duke of Albemarle's being about this night to attack the Duke of Monmouth's force.

At night there was a rendezvous of forces in Lyme; and eight hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse marched out, with three pieces of cannon, to a cross-way, supposed to be that close to Hay Cottage, the residence of Benjamin Cleave, Esq., where this force took up a position behind the hedges and in the narrow way, ready to receive the Duke of Albemarle, who, as the Duke was incorrectly informed, intended to fall on him that night. About two hundred foot and one piece

* Wade. State Papers.

of cannon were left in the town. The foot lay in the field, with their arms, in rank and file; the horsemen holding their bridles in their hands.

The intelligence of the landing was spread far and near. When news had to be communicated to a distance of one hundred miles, a man mounted a horse; and travelling was as expeditious as in the present day, apart from railroads. The moving a family in a carriage, with a man provided with an axe to cut away branches that obstructed the way, or procuring relays of horses, or even bullocks, to draw a carriage through the lanes, was quite another matter. Herein the superiority of modern travelling consists.

Many of the Duke's friends were seized, many fled to London. Mr. Trenchard even retired to France. Mr. Prideaux of Ford Abbey, who had received the Duke in his progress, was arrested by a secretary of state's warrant, dated the second day after Monmouth's landing, and continued in custody till July 14th, when he was admitted to bail. He was soon after again seized, and sent a close prisoner to the Tower. This is said to have been upon mere suspicion.*

The sheriff of Dorset called out, 12th and 13th June, the posse comitatus; but discharged all but the militia, as many of the others were badly armed and not to be trusted.† The Rev. Amos Short, a well-known Nonconformist minister, ejected from the vicarage of Lyme Regis, and now in Dorchester Gaol, to which he had been consigned under the Conventicle Act, with others, was removed to Portsmouth, and there thrown into a dungeon.

Mr. Christopher Battiscomb, a member of the Bar, and who was possessed of an estate between Dorchester

* Ralph. † Axe Papers.

and Lyme, had set out from Holland upon an important mission to Cheshire and to the west of England. He was directed by the Duke of Monmouth to visit Sir Francis Rolles of Hampshire, Sir Walter Young, Sir Francis Drake, Mr. Trenchard, Mr. W. Strode, Mr. Hucker of Taunton, and several others about that town. His office was to prepare for the insurrection by informing these gentlemen that the Duke would be in the West about May, and would bring powder, arms, and all sorts of ammunition. The place of landing was not then settled, but was left to the country-gentlemen to direct. Mr. Battiscomb had not been able to communicate to the Duke of Monmouth the result of his interviews with these gentlemen. This circumstance is another proof of the great precipitancy with which rebellion was hurried on. Had all advised delay, the the Duke would notwithstanding have been at Lyme, a place fixed upon because near Taunton, as far as possible from the King's troops, the people well-disposed, and of such small strength that the small party who accompanied the Duke could master it.* Mr. Battiscomb brought news that Sir Francis Rolles and Mr. W. Strode were prisoners, and that Sir Walter Young was very cool on the matter, which was wondered at. He confirmed the intelligence that Mr. Trenchard, who had talked of 1500 men at Taunton, was gone to France. Wade owns these disappointments "made the Duke grow very melancholy."† James II. says, when the Duke of Monmouth found nobody coming to join him, he was so disheartened that "he was once in a mind to return."‡ Dalrymple asserts that those who

* Principally Wade's confession, Harleian MS., 6845. — Lord Grey's Account of the Rye-House Plot.

† Wade's confession. ‡ Life of James II.

failed in their promises to Monmouth found excuses for their defection in the terms of the Declaration.

Mr. Hewling, Col. Joshua Churchill, Mr. Thomas Hooper, Mr. Legge, and Captain Matthews came in. The latter believed the noblemen of Hampshire would join Lord Wiltshire, the eldest son of the Marquis of Winchester, and force their way to Lyme.* This is very probable; for Lord Wiltshire was afterwards in Holland whither he perhaps fled, and was active in furthering the expedition of the Prince of Orange, engaging troopers and bespeaking standards at his own expense.* The country was now so well guarded, that unless by force no one could join, all travellers were so strictly examined.† Dr. Milner, the historian of Winchester, states that the old republicans were ready with their horses to join the Duke whenever it should be safe to do so. Some great warehouses for stowing wool are shown in Parchment Street, near Durn Gate, as those used for stables on this occasion.

The following anecdote, singularly illustrative of the men and the time, is only found in Dalrymple's Memoirs: — At first the Duke was in straits for provisons: but Ferguson having assured him that he would find subsistence for one day for the army, if the Duke would give him the command of it for a minute; and the Duke having consented, Ferguson gave orders that the soldiers should observe the next day as a solemn fast for success. Is this credible? Could the Duke have proposed fasting to Sampson Larke the Anabaptist and the body of Dissenters?

This morning Gustavus Venner, a relative of Col. Venner, went to Orchard Portman House, near Taun-

* D'Avaux, iv. 235.

† Lord Grey's Account of the Rye House Plot.

ton, with the news of Monmouth's landing for Sir William Portman. The first report was, that the Duke was 10,000 strong. This evening a servant was sent to Lyme by Sir W. Portman, who said he saw there about twelve companies, say of 100 men each, making only, at most, 1500 men; but that as he returned towards that seat he met parties of ten, twenty, or thirty men going to Lyme.*

This same day the Duke sent word to Mr. Hucker of Taunton of his arrival; whose brother, Mr. C. Hucker, gave information of the same immediately to Col. Philips and the magistrates.†

While Dassell and Thorold were raising the country and travelling on towards London, James II. remained in perfect ignorance of Monmouth's destination. The King wrote this day to the Prince of Orange; and states, that if the Duke of Monmouth had gone to Scotland, his frigates sent that way may chance to light on him; if he had designed to have landed any where in the West of England, as some thought he intended (by enigmatical letters intercepted and forwarded to the King ‡), as the winds have been since he sailed, he must have heard of it; so that his Majesty thought he must have gone for Scotland through St. George's Channel, or intends to land somewhere in Cheshire or Lancashire. § Sir John Cochrane strongly advised Monmouth to land at Burlington quay in Yorkshire.

All diligence imaginable was used, says Wade, to get horses, one of the things the Duke wanted. Messengers were sent to seize all they could lay their hands on near the town. By noon nearly forty or fifty were brought in. Complaints upon this head gave rise to a proclamation soon after.

* Axe Papers. † Dalrymple.

‡ See those procured at Ilminster by the clergyman and Captain W. Speke. They were true indications that the invasion would be in the West.

§ Dalrymple.

CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1685.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13. at Lyme. Messengers from Lyme inform the King of the landing. — Militia closing round Lyme. — Whiting the Quaker's information. — Duke's regiment formed. — The other regiments. — De Foe and Dare arrive. — Information from Taunton and Exeter. — Memoir of old Dare and Fletcher of Saltoun. — Quarrel and death of the former. — The destination of the Duke's frigate. — A party sent to attack the Dorset militia at Bridport. — Lord Grey commands, but is advised by Colonel Venner. — Attack. — Colonel Venner wounded, Lord Grey rides off. — Monmouth meets the party at the head of some horse near Lyme. — Duke surprised to find the retreating party in good order. — Asks if Lord Grey ran away. — Duke's conversation respecting Lord Grey's cowardice. — Parliament informed of the landing. — Votes. — Anecdote of the court party at the play. — Fate of the "Declaration." — Commons insert a clause for the protection of his Majesty's person. — Bill of attainder. — Reward for the taking of Monmouth offered. — Form of act to attaint. — Sum voted. — Members of Parliament sent into their counties by the King. — Directions to Albemarle. — Monmouth learns that militia forces are marching to shut him up in Lyme. — King asks the Prince of Orange for three English regiments which were in the Prince's service. — Refuses troops offered by the Spanish ambassador. — SUNDAY, JUNE 14. at Lyme. — MONDAY, JUNE 15. The Duke of Monmouth marches out of Lyme. — Remarks. — Near Lyme the Duke sees the Devon and Somersetshire militias. — Enters Axminster. — Should the Duke have pursued Albemarle? — Confusion of the militia. — Note upon the uniform of the Somerset militia. — Army marches to a post near Chard. — Site of the camp.

Saturday, June 13th. — THIS was a very important day. In the morning at four o'clock Dassell and Thorold informed the King of Monmouth's landing, and distant counties became aware of the rebellion having commenced. The news reached the neighbourhood of Bridgwater, — the landing and the 82 were magnified into 10,000. Parts less remote had now time to send

in their men. The proceedings of parliament will claim attention in their proper place.

To remain longer in Lyme, without taking some decisive step, it now appears would prove fatal. The militia was closing round in all directions, and arrested and threw into the county gaols those friends of Monmouth who were hastening to join him. Dassell mentions how he early directed the constables of towns through which he passed — very important personages in those days compared with what they now are — to double their watches. Whiting the Quaker* acquaints us with the manner in which these guards performed their office. He was proceeding from Nailsea towards Ilchester, and states — "As I rode into Wrington, there was a watch set at the Cross; and as I came towards them I heard one of them say to the other, 'Go forth and stop him, and ask him whither he is riding?' So he came and stood with a halbert in my way, and bid me stand. 'Well,' said I, 'and what then?' He asked me whither I was riding? I told him southward; which, though directly towards the Duke, without asking me any further questions, he wished me a good journey,

* This is the second mention made of John Whiting the Quaker, who will be found to have contributed many interesting facts towards the history of a period in which he figured in situations where he had many opportunities for observation. His work is for the most part dull, and his account of litigation about tithes uninteresting; but there are passages of his movements from town to town in the hottest part of the rebellion that are highly illustrative of the man and his times, which we should in vain look for elsewhere. The title of his work is, "Persecution exposed, in some Memoirs relating to the Sufferings of JOHN WHITING, and many others of the people called Quakers, for conscience-sake, in the West of England, with memoirs of many eminent friends deceased, and other memorable matters and occurrences concerning the sufferings of the said people; and remarkable providences attending him and them, during his long imprisonment at Ilchester, till the general release in 1686, and continued down to the year 1696." Lond. 8vo. 2d edit. 1791.

and so let me pass; at which I could not but smile to myself, to see how easy they were to let any pass that way, for, indeed, the hearts of the people were towards him, if they durst have showed it," &c. This system of encouraging followers rather than interrupting them could not be pursued where the militia lay.

The generation has passed from us, whose countenances glowed at any mention of the Blue and the Yellow regiments, in which their fathers and grandfathers served with their darling Monmouth. It must have been on this day that Colonel Wade formed the Duke's regiment, and gave to the captains their companies. This regiment was 500 strong. Colonel Holmes formed his, the Green regiment, which was of nearly the same force. Colonel Foukes formed his, the White regiment, of about 350 men. The Yellow regiment, afterwards Matthews's, began to be formed under the command of Major Fox.

Great numbers continued to arrive. Among these should not be omitted Daniel De Foe, the author of that immortal work "Robinson Crusoe," then twenty-four years of age. The military service, hair-breadth escapes, fatigue, and shifts he underwent, were doubtless beneficial in giving reality to his conceptions of adventures, such as figure in "Robinson Crusoe." Who can estimate the service his work has rendered, in advancing the human intellect, by giving an early taste for reading, in fact, by enabling young persons to read by communicating the habit? Alas! how much too difficult are most of the books now put into the hands of the young: the cuts are admired, the reading neglected, and the child grows up without having acquired the habit that is so precious an ingredient in human life.*

* Memoirs of Daniel De Foe, by Walter Wilson, Esq. 3 vols. 8vo.

A little after day-break Mr. Dare, who landed at Seatown, June 11., returned with about forty horse, pretty well mounted, but few of them armed, and all but ordinary men, though he himself was very well mounted. He reported that the Somerset militia kept Taunton from rising. Mr. Tyler of Bristol came in from Exeter, and was made lieutenant to Colonel Wade. He said the Duke of Albemarle was in no condition to fall upon the Duke of Monmouth's force for some days.*

Before detailing the first important military operation, some mention must be made of an affair that proved a great calamity to the Duke, and which arose from the preparations for the attack upon the Dorset militia at Bridport. The transaction has been often alluded to, and very incorrectly so, particularly by the Earl of Buchan, in his "Life of Fletcher of Saltoun," one of the parties. A brief biographical digression may be excused, as it tends in a pointed manner to illustrate the subject of the work.

Heywood Dare, sometimes called "Old Dare," to distinguish him from his son, was a remarkable character. He had been a goldsmith at Taunton, the metropolis, as North called it, of the "faction of the West," and to which place the Rev. Andrew Paschall attributes the breaking out of the rebellion in the West, and in a particular manner to Dare. We have mentioned the utterance of a pun in a bold presentation of a petition to Charles II., which caused Dare much persecution. He joined the other refugees in Holland in 1680. By the briskness of his air and the boldness of his spirit, and now by his sufferings, he became exceedingly endeared to the party; and, under colour of being their

* Wade.

factor for their serges, he served to the maintaining of the correspondence held between the malecontents abroad and their friends at home. Dare was first appointed Secretary to the Duke, afterwards Paymaster, and landed at Scatown, June 11., to apprise Mr. Speke of Monmouth's arrival.

Andrew Fletcher, the son of Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, was a Scottish gentleman of such great parts, that upon any mention of his name various eminent writers launch out at once in terms of the highest praise. Dalrymple says, "in ancient Rome he would have been the rival and friend of Cato. Sir James Mackintosh calls him a man of rare genius, uniting military gallantry with the civic virtues, and meditative philosophy with an active and antique love of freedom."* Fletcher was born in 1653, spent some years in foreign travel, and first appeared as a public character in the Scottish parliament, where, having distinguished himself, in opposition to the court, he thought it prudent to retire to Holland; and on his non-appearance to a summons from the Lords in Council, he was outlawed. In 1683 he came over to take measures with the friends of liberty against the designs of James II. Bishop Burnet assigns him great parts and many virtues; but adds, he was a most violent republican, and extravagantly passionate. He did not like Argyle's scheme; so he resolved to run fortunes with the Duke of Monmouth. He told Burnet that all the English were still pressing the Duke to venture. They said all the West of England would come to him as soon as he appeared, as they had done five or six years ago.

Thus we perceive that the Progress had some results.

* History of England by Sir J. Mackintosh.

"They reckoned there would be no fighting, but that the Guards and others who adhered to the King would melt to nothing before him. They fancied the city of London would be in such a disposition to revolt, that if he should land in the West the King would be in great perplexity. He could not have two armies; and his fear of tumults near his person would oblige him to keep such a force about him that he would not be able to send any against him. So they reckoned he would have time to form an army, and in a little while be in a condition to seek out the King, and fight him on equal terms." *

Towards evening the Duke gave orders for the expedition to Bridport, and designed to give the joint command of the horse to Fletcher, who had dined with him, and Lord Grey. Fletcher was, perhaps, as Dalrymple asserts, the only soldier the Duke had. Rigid in the duties of morality, yet having been accustomed to foreign service, both by sea and land, he considered his merits and the good of the cause justified his taking the beautiful charger which Dare had that morning brought to the army, and which was said to have come from Ford Abbey, the seat of Mr. Prideaux. Having mounted it, high words ensued, Dare being unwilling that his horse should be taken.

Oldmixon says that Dare was a rough, ill-bred man, and used very injurious language, which Fletcher bore; but the other persisting, and offering to use a switch or cane, Fletcher shot him dead with a pistol. Ferguson, in Echard's History of England, remarks that Dare's death was occasioned by his own intemperate and unruly passion, and "beyond the intention of the gentleman whose misfortune it was to do it." Dare had a

* Burnet.

son, who, with the new levies, assembled and demanded the punishment of the assassin.. Monmouth, to screen Fletcher from their vengeance, placed him under an arrest, sent him aboard the frigate, and ordered the captain to sail.

He left Spain for Hungary, where he distinguished himself against the Turks.* Dare was a great loss: the Duke was marching to a part where he had influence. Fletcher's loss was felt, as will be understood, in a few hours. Dalrymple says, "With Fletcher all chance of success in war left Monmouth." This accident so distressed the Duke's mind, that it was said he never cast off the sadness which he contracted on this occasion. And perhaps, all things considered, he could not have had a greater loss in the death of any one man, because of Dare's interest in the party, his knowledge of the country, and his industry and resolution in whatever he undertook.

There is frequent mention of the Duke's frigate, and in different terms. She was not the property of the Duke, but was hired to land the men, for which risk the Duke paid 550*l*. Her papers were made out for Bilbao in Spain. Ferguson in Echard's history states that Fletcher was to have returned to meet the force at a place named, but which they were never destined to reach! The object of the Duke at Lyme was to make his followers believe that the frigate was his own, and was intended to co-operate with him in the course of his march. Mr. Joseph Tyly, to further this deception, forcibly impressed a mariner of the town, John Kerridge, and put him aboard, "that being acquainted with the coast, he should pilot the ship to Bristol." This

* MS. in Echard.

was publicly done to answer the above purpose, as Kerridge offered to prove in his petition by several loyal inhabitants of Lyme. As soon as the ship was outside the roadstead, and the impressed pilot and followers on shore were thinking of the Bristol Channel, the master steered for Spain, where he and Kerridge were seized as traitors.* The innocent man who was thus cruelly treated was eventually pardoned, and is really deserving of pity.

Towards evening, the Duke ordered Colonel Wade to prepare a party of 300 men of his own regiment, 100 of Foukes's, under the command of Captain Francis Goodenough, and a party of forty horse commanded by Lord Grey, to fall upon the Dorset militia then at Bridport, eight miles east of Lyme. This force was to march all night, and beat up the quarters of the militia by break of day. Most of the Red Regiment, commanded by Colonel Strangways, came to Bridport this day; the Yellow regiment, under the command of Sir W. Portman, did not arrive till the morrow.

This force marched out, Lieutenant Mitchell leading the vanguard, consisting of forty musqueteers, followed by Captain Thompson at the head of 100 more. The rest of the foot, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Venner, followed, having in the rear the horse. Lord Grey commanded the whole party in chief, but was ordered by the Duke to take the advice of Colonel Venner.†

This party marched all night in great secrecy, and by the way received information that the forces in the town amounted to 1200 foot and 100 horse, at the least,

* State Paper Office. Bundle, Domestic, James II. Petition heard Aug. 8. 1686.

† Wade.

a very unequal match for the assailants; but being positively commanded to attempt it, they resolved to do their best, and advanced under cover of a thick mist, having the person who gave them the information a prisoner with them.

It was now Sunday morning. They found no out-posts, excepting the end of the town of Bridport, which consists of one long and broad street with a stone bridge at either end, and a cross street running south. The horse and some small part of the King's foot lay in the town, the rest in a meadow beyond the further bridge.

Monmouth's party, entering the town over the bridge by Allington, met with but slight resistance. The out-guards retired with expedition to the main-guard, who as speedily retreated, standing only to receive one volley from the Duke's vanguard. Thus the town fell at once into the assailant's hands, who found the militia horses running about without riders.

The entrance of Bridport, by Allington, having been secured by a stand of pikes, and two or three files of musqueteers, commanded by Ensign Ascough, and South Street, the cross street mentioned, by two small parties of foot, under Lieutenants Lillingstone and Brinscombe, in order to prevent being surrounded by an enemy so numerous, a small body of foot advanced to attack the eastern bridge, on the Dorchester end of the town, under the command of Colonel Venner. Colonel Wade had drawn up a small body of foot to support this advanced party, and was ordered by Colonel Venner to desire Lord Grey to bring up his horse to support the foot. This he did; but had no sooner passed Wade's reserve of foot, than this officer

Wade.

was engaged with some who fired out of the windows of the Bull Inn, on the site of the present inn of that name. This occasioned the breaking open the doors of some houses, when Mr. Strangways and Mr. Coker lost their lives.*

The latter was killed by Colonel Venner after he had shot the colonel in the belly; the other by a musqueteer as he was endeavouring to pistol Captain Francis Goodenough, after, as it was thought, he had taken quarter. Mr. Wadham Strangways was of the present Earl of Ilchester's family. Colonel Strangways, Mr. Harvey of Clifton, near Yeovil, the same, or perhaps the son of the gentleman, who received the Duke of Monmouth when making his Progress, were wounded at the Bull Inn.† Mr. Coker's brother, two Williams, and Mr. Swayn, were made prisoners.‡ Ten horses were procured.§

After this affair, the Monmouth party advanced to the attack of the bridge, where the officers of the Dorset militia had with great difficulty prevailed upon their soldiers to stand. Monmouth's foot fired one volley upon them, which they returned, killing two men; at which Lord Grey with the horse ran, and never turned till they came to Lyme; where they reported Colonel Wade to be slain, and all the foot to have been cut off. This flight so discouraged the van-guard, that they threw down their arms and began to run; but, upon Colonel Wade bringing up another body to their assistance, they were persuaded to take up their arms again,

* Wade. † London Gazette. ‡ Axe Papers.

§ In Bridport church, on a brass plate—"In memory of Edward Coker, Gent., second son of Captain Robert Coker of Mapouder, slain at the Bull Inn, in Bridport, June 14. A.D. 1685, by one Vener, who was an officer under the late Duke of Monmouth, in that rebellion."

except nearly seventeen, who had run into houses for shelter. Colonel Venner, dismayed by his wound, commanded a retreat, and would not suffer a second attack upon the eastern bridge. When he had given his orders he mounted, and rode after Lord Grey to Lyme, leaving Colonel Wade to retreat as he could. This officer drew off his guards in South Street, and caused his men to retreat to the western bridge, where he waited half an hour, expecting and prepared for an attack, having laid an ambush of musqueteers. The militia remained contented with having re-occupied the centre of the town, and shouting, out of musquet-shot, at Monmouth's men. Colonel Wade says his men shouted in return; and by this bravado, having a little established the staggering courage of his soldiers, they retreated in pretty good order, with twelve or fourteen prisoners, and about thirty horses, uninterrupted towards Lyme. When within about two miles from Lyme they were met by the Duke of Monmouth at the head of a good body of horse, who had come to favour the retreat, as he thought, of his straggling forces, but was surprised to see them marching in good order. The Duke thanked Colonel Wade for bringing off his men, and demanded if it were true, as it was reported, that my Lord Grey ran away? The Colonel answered, "Yes;" at which he seemed much surprised, yet nevertheless, as the Colonel remarks, continued him in his command. The party was much tired with their march to Bridport. Colonel Wade was made colonel of the regiment in the place of Venner, wounded.* It is stated in the Axe papers, that the King's forces took twenty-three prisoners, and very many arms.

Ferguson's MS., in Echard's "History of England,"

states that the Duke asked Colonel Matthews, son-in-law of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Armstrong, what he should do with my Lord Grey, who answered, "That there was not a General in Europe that would have asked such a question but himself;" intending, no doubt, writes Fox, to reproach the Duke with the excess to which he pushed his characteristic virtues of mildness and forbearance.* That these virtues formed a part of his character is most true, and the personal friendship in which he had lived with Grey would incline him still more to the exercise of them upon this occasion; but it is to be remembered also, that the delinquent was, in respect of rank, property, and perhaps too of talent, by far the most considerable man he had with him; and, therefore, that prudential motives might concur to deter a General from proceeding to violent measures with such a person, especially in a civil war, where the discipline of an armed party cannot be conducted upon the same system as that of a regular army serving in a foreign war.

The affair at Bridport was in many respects an unfortunate one.

The proceedings of the King and parliament now claim attention. The news reached Whitehall, as already described, at four o'clock this morning, and was communicated to the parliament this day.† The loyal gentry of the counties, and the packed voters of the remodelled boroughs, had given James II. a parliament such as England had not seen for a century, one beyond all comparison the most obsequious that ever sat under a prince of the house of Stuart.‡

* Fox's Hist.

† Commons' Journals, Saturday, June 13.

‡ Critical and Historical Essays, by the Right Hon. T. B. Macaulay, ii. 249.

The Earl of Middleton acquainted the House from his Majesty, that the King had that morning received advice, as well by letter from the mayor of Lyme, as by two messengers come from thence, who had been examined upon oath at the council table, that the Duke of Monmouth with the late * Lord Grey, was landed in a hostile manner, with many men and arms; and had seized the fort and guns, setting up a standard in the town, and were listing others.

The said letter being produced and read, the messengers were called in, and testified the truth of the matter at the bar.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the most humble and hearty thanks of this House be returned to his Majesty, for his gracious message to this House, communicating the landing of the Duke of Monmouth; and that this House will stand by and assist his Majesty with their lives and fortunes, against the said James Duke of Monmouth, his adherents and correspondents, and all rebels and traitors, and all others whatsoever that shall assist them, or any of them.†

An address was soon prepared by the Commons in accordance with the foregoing sentiments, with this addition: —

"And since the preservation of your Majesty's person is of the highest concern to the peace and happiness of this kingdom; we, your most dutiful and loyal subjects, do most humbly beseech your Majesty to take more than ordinary care of your royal person, which we beseech God long to preserve."—The address was presented at five o'clock (p. m.) at Whitehall.†

* *Late* became *dead* in law. After the passing of the bill of attainder against the Duke, the expression "the *late* Duke of Monmouth" is used.

† Commons' Journals.

The parliament, as we have mentioned, met at their usual hour between nine and ten in the morning, when the news was communicated to them. The Houses adjourned till four in the afternoon, the hour at which the curtain rose in the theatre at this time. A delighted audience of court favourers, as we may infer, were listening at five o'clock to Dryden's play of "Albion and Albanius," then being respresented for the sixth time. This piece was another attack upon the whigs, who were supposed to be fair game as a ruined faction. The news from Lyme had now transpired, and reached the theatre. An actual rebellion, commenced by the party who were attacked in the play, was startling news, that dispelled the delusion of the drama. The audience broke up in consternation. The piece was never again repeated.*

On Monday, June 15., the Lord Chief Baron Montague, and Mr. Baron Gregory, brought from the Lords the DECLARATION of *James Duke of Monmouth*, &c. which had been sent by the King, and desire that the same may be returned to them as soon as it had been read, in regard it is to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman at the Royal Exchange that day at one o'olock. Lord Ranelagh carried back the *Declaration*, with the perfect agreement of the Commons, that it should be burnt. The Sheriffs reported the next day that they had executed the orders of the House.†

The Declaration experienced the common fate of obnoxious documents in this and other European countries, at a time when the common hangman was in great request. The Solemn League and Covenant was burnt by order of Charles II.'s first Parliament; the famous

* Sir W. Scott's Life of Dryden.

† Commons' Journals.

Oxford Decree soon after experienced the same fate. Merchant's letters to persons in authority were not exempt, when couched in language that was considered impertinent.*

The Committee of the Commons, by order of the House, added a clause to the Bill for the protection of his Majesty's person to this effect, "declaring it to be treason for any person to assert the legitimacy of James Duke of Monmouth, or his title or pretence to the crown." †

Dr. Lingard, alluding to the "Bill for the greater security of the Royal Person," makes the following remarks:—"Such bills, arising out of particular circumstances, making temporary additions to the original statute for treasons, had been passed in the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II., but had always been attended with some sacrifice of right on the part of the subject. The present bill seems to have had three objects; to meet the difficulty urged at their trials by Russell and Sydney, and for that purpose, to make words and writings overt acts of treason; to intimidate the partisans of Monmouth, by enacting penalties against all who should pronounce him the legitimate son of Charles II., or heir to the crown; and to check the licentiousness of the press, by disabling all persons from holding office in church or state, who shall be convicted of having maliciously and advisedly endeavoured to excite, by word or writing, hatred or dislike of his Majesty or of the government established by law.

"Serjeant Maynard forcibly objected to the policy of converting words into treason; it would lead to the punishment of innocence and the commission of perjury: facts

* History of Lyme Regis.
† Commons' Journals.

must be seen, words might be misunderstood; and the detection of perjury respecting facts was comparatively easy, respecting words difficult and often impossible. Maynard was overruled; but in consequence of his objections, two provisoes were added; one, that no writing or teaching in defence of the doctrine or discipline of the established church against popery or other dissenting opinions should be considered an offence within the meaning of the act; the other, that the information should be laid within forty-eight hours after the words spoken, or the facts discovered, that the prosecution should begin within six months after the offence, and that the indictment should follow within the subsequent months. In this state the bill passed the Commons."

The ingrossed bill for the attainder of James Duke of Monmouth was read the third time, having been read twice before the same day.

Lord Lonsdale, in his Memoirs, considers this hasty passing the Bill of Attainder amounted to breaking all the forms of parliament. The account given by Dassell quite settles the dispute between Sir George Rose and Heywood as to Burnet's veracity respecting the examining witnesses. Dassell and Thorold were examined by the council, and bore witness to the truth of their statements, and the identity of the Duke of Monmouth's person at the bar of the House.

The House further resolved that an address be sent to his Majesty praying him to issue a royal proclamation, promising a reward of 5000*l.* to any person that shall bring in James Duke of Monmouth, dead or alive.

See the "London Gazette," June 16., for the proclamation in accordance with the address of the Commons.

Sir John Fenwick, Bart., carried up the Bill of Attainder to the Lords, little anticipating that his zeal for James and that King's indiscretions would soon occasion his being attainted and executed on Tower Hill, January 28. 1696, for high treason in plotting to restore the exiled monarch.

The House of Lords was as expeditious as the Commons in reading and passing the Bill of Attainder: it was read three times in one day, and received the Royal Assent, June 16th. The Earl of Anglesey alone opposed the Act of Attainder against the Duke of Monmouth, because the evidence did not seem clear enough for so severe a sentence.*

AN ACT TO ATTAINT JAMES DUKE OF MONMOUTH OF HIGH TREASON.

"Whereas James Duke of Monmouth has in a hostile manner invaded this kingdom, and is now in open rebellion, levying war against the King, contrary to the duty of his allegiance; Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same: That the said James Duke of Monmouth stand and be convicted and attainted of high treason, and that he suffer pains of death, and incur all forfeitures as a traitor convicted and attainted of high treason." †

While relating the proceedings at the seat of government, it may be proper to add that, on Thursday, June 18., his Majesty communicated to the Commons that he judged it necessary for the good of his service that the gentlemen of that House (on whose loyalty and

* Burnet. † Howell's State Trials, xi. 1048.

affection he depends, wherever they are) should be present in their respective countries, and therefore designs there should be a recess in a very few days, but prays for sufficient means to suppress the rebellion in the West.

A sum not exceeding 400,000*l.* was voted.

The commissioning Catholic lords to levy troops alarmed many.

It has been related that the mayor of Lyme fled to the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord Lieutenant of Devonshire, then at Exeter. The Duke wrote off to London (12th June) for a detachment of troops to strengthen him, in consequence of what he had learnt from the fugitive mayor. James II. directed Lord Sunderland (13th June) to inform the Duke of Albemarle that the number of the rebels that had landed is not near so great as the mayor of Lyme had represented to him, and that four troops of horse, two troops of dragoons, and five companies of foot were to march immediately to Salisbury to assist the deputy lieutenant, to be in that city on Monday, and Colonel Kirk with them.

The Secretary of State added that the King placed an entire confidence in his Grace's conduct and zeal for his service, and therefore leaves it to his discretion to march with the forces of the country, and to proceed in all things on this occasion as he shall see cause and judge it best for his service. The Duke was reminded that his Grace, as several other Lord Lieutenants, were authorised to march out of their respective counties, and that the power which he had asked for, June 10., of arresting suspected persons was already possessed by him.†

* Commons' Journals.

† State Papers, June 13. 1685. 212.

After this digression, which was necessary in order to introduce the important proceedings at the seat of government, let us once more view Colonel Wade entering Lyme by the narrow Charmouth Lane on his return from Bridport, escorted by the Duke of Monmouth, who had gone to meet him upon receiving the coward Lord Grey's account of the failure upon the militia.

The Duke had received certain intelligence of the march of the Duke of Albemarle with the Devonshire, and the Duke of Somerset with the Somersetshire militias, in order to shut him up in Lyme. Monmouth told Colonel Wade that unless he marched early on Monday morning all was lost.

The King informed the Duke of Albemarle, June 14., that troops under the command of Lord Churchill, with whom he was to concert measures, were on their way to join him. James II., mindful perhaps of the famous siege of Lyme in 1644, thought it best for Albemarle not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Monmouth while he staid in that town, "except upon great advantage." Stragglers were to be kept by all means from joining. In case the Duke of Monmouth marched out, to Taunton or elsewhere, Albemarle was to attend his movements, with discretionary permission to fall upon him or not.† The Duke of Albemarle left the mayor of Exeter in command of that city during his absence, which appointment was approved of by the King.‡

The King had hoped the Devon and Somerset militias would have succeeded in shutting up the Duke of Mon-

* Wade.

† Sunderland Papers. Letter to the Duke of Albemarle, State Paper Office, June 14. 1685.

‡ State Paper Office. Letter to the mayor, June 16.

mouth in Lyme Regis. His Majesty informed the Prince of Orange of their not having effected this object, which occasioned his asking for the three English regiments in his service.* He refused 4000 men offered by the Spanish ambassador.†

Sunday, June 14.—The return of the fatigued troops from Bridport, and preparations for departure, occupied the Sabbath.

Monday, June 15.—About two in the morning of the 15th June, all the officers were sent for into the field by the Duke of Monmouth. The drums were beat at three, and at ten A.M. the army marched out.‡

Notwithstanding the Duke's speech to Bernard Browne that he had arms for all, be they twenty or thirty thousand, it is supposed that eleven thousand men offered their services at Lyme more than could be received for want of arms.

Colonel Wade led the vanguard on the march from Lyme after a stay of four days: he estimates the Duke's force at near 3,000 strong.

It may be highly interesting to know, now that the Duke's first march is being described, if he had any route determined on, in case the King's forces should not succeed in arresting his career. Colonel Wade has shown that the Duke proposed to march to Taunton, Bridgwater, Bristol, Gloucester, and thence for London.‡ The object in marching towards Gloucester was to meet his Cheshire friends, who would have formed a junction with their united forces at that city.§ James II. says, that flattering himself with the multitude of engagements from men of great estate and quality, and

* Dalrymple.
† Mazure.
‡ Wade.
§ Howell's State Trials, xi. 541.

officers of the standing army, he marched to make himself master of Bristol.*

Dalrymple, when commenting upon the operations of the first day's march, believed the Duke's forces amounted to double the number they attained at Lyme. Bishop Burnet says Monmouth staid too long in the neighbourhood of Lyme. His great error was, that he did not venture on some hardy action, and then march directly to Exeter or Bristol. Fox considers that, in Monmouth's situation, the best, or rather the only chance of success, was to be looked for in counsels of the boldest kind. If he could not immediately strike some important stroke, it was not likely that he ever should; nor indeed was he in a condition to wait. He could not flatter himself, as Argyle had done, that he had a strong country, full of relations and dependants, where he might secure himself till the co-operation of his confederates, or some other favourable circumstance, might put it in his power to act more effectively.

The leaving Lyme was taking the field in good earnest. The Duke's army had gone through the narrow lane by Hay Farm, and crossed Uplyme Common, by the old road, to a point where a fine view is obtained from above the present Hunter's Lodge Inn, of Shoote Hill, and the fine valley of Axminster, here distant two miles. From this high ground of south-east Devon, the Duke of Monmouth discovered the Devonshire militia marching towards Axminster; and on the other side, when at a distance of two hours march from Lyme, the Somersetshire militia hastening to form a junction with them. The scouts of the latter force had entered Axminster; but retired upon the forces of Monmouth hastily marching in, having doubled their pace.

The Duke took possession of Axminster, and seized on the lanes leading towards each of the opposing forces, which, from their being so narrow, and the hedges so thick, were very favourable for being secured with cannon and musqueteers.

Colonel Wade guarded the advanced post at Shoote Hill, beyond Axminster, towards Honiton, near the seat of Sir W. T. Pole, Bart., against the Duke of Albemarle's force. The Devonshire horse came to within half a quarter of a mile of his advanced post, but retreated upon discovering that the hedges had been lined with men. Colonel Wade advanced upon them, but the Duke of Monmouth came and ordered him back, telling the Colonel that the Somersetshire forces had likewise withdrawn, and that it was not his present business to fight, but to march on.* Ferguson's MS. in Echard's History, enables us more fully to understand the Duke's views, when it was proposed to pursue the Duke of Albemarle, which were, "not to fight yet till his men had been a little disciplined, but rather to make up into the country as fast as possible to meet his friends; not questioning but there would be some action in several parts of the kingdom on the news of his success."

Ralph estimates Albemarle's forces at 4000 men. He states that the Duke with his Devonshire forces came to within a quarter of a mile of Axminster, and then wheeled about in confusion. Oldmixon, a great favourer of Monmouth, mentioned that, had he followed Albemarle, he might have had Exeter, and the arms of the militia, who were no enemies to him. How important the arms would have been, may be understood by referring to the numbers that joined, but could not

* Wade.

be supplied with arms. Dalrymple blames the policy which prevented the attack upon Albemarle. "Monmouth," says he, "was accustomed to the formalities observed by regular troops in time of peace more than actual war; and not having the genius to see that in desperate enterprises sudden movements strike with terror," would not permit an attack.

The retreat of the Devonshire and Somerset militias was very disorderly — indeed, to such a degree, that in the Axminster Book of the Independent Chapel it is said, "The Lord sent a hornet of fear amongst them, so that a dreadful consternation of spirit seized on them, that in some places they fell one upon another, in other places some ran away with amazement. Some were so stricken with terror that they were even bereft of their reason, and like distracted persons; others threw away their weapons of war and would take them up no more; and many watched opportunities to leave their colours and old officers, and came and joined with this new company."

This appears an unreal description, to which no attention should be paid, as being undeserved; but Colonel Wade relates circumstantially the account received at Chard, through which place the Somersetshire militia passed on their way from Axminster. The Colonel states the retreat was little better than a flight, many of the soldiers' coats and arms being recovered and brought in to Monmouth's men. Oldmixon treats of the march to join the Devonshire militia, and the effect produced by the sight of the mouths of two or three hollow trees pointed towards them, which they mistook for cannon, and fled at once.

Mr. Axe accounts for the conduct of the Somerset

militia, not as proceeding from cowardice but from unwillingness to fight in such a cause. Like the common people, they were possessed "by the industrious phanatique that their religion was at the last gasp." The red and yellow liveries of the Somerset militia were the ornament of Monmouth's army.*

The Independent minister of Weycroft chapel marched out with Monmouth. A considerable number joined the army from Axminster.

The outposts on Shoote Hill, &c. were withdrawn, and the army marched on to a strong post beyond Axminster towards Chard, where they encamped for the night, putting out strong guards.† The position occupied by the Duke's forces on this halt is not known. It was probably Membury Castle and Balay Down, very elevated and commanding spots, on the last of which there remains a slight semicircular earth-work, apparently thrown up for the reception of a range of

* Communication of Captain Robert Leigh, of the 1st Somerset Militia upon the uniform, who refers to Beatson's Political Index.

An alteration from the red and yellow liveries took place, it is presumed, when the Poulett family became the lord-lieutenants; black being the colour of the facings of their family livery, and the colour of the field of their armorial shield.

A.D.	*Lord Lieutenants.*
1760	John Earl Poulett.
1764	Earl of Thomond.
1773	Lord North.
1792	Earl Poulett.

Lord Cork commanded, and restored the old yellow facings. Upon the death of Lord Cork, the Earl Poulett took the command as colonel; but made no change in the facings, till the war broke out again after the peace of Amiens, in 1803, when he restored the black facings. Yellow facings are worn by the 13th regiment of foot, which is called a Somersetshire regiment.

The Duke of Beaufort's regiment was clothed in red. The King left it to the Duke to choose the colour of the lining.—*Sunderland State Papers, July 4.*

† Wade.

guns. It faces the south-west. Nothing is recorded of Monmouth's men having entrenched. If the earth-work was thrown up by them, it must have been provided against the Duke of Albemarle's forces. Probably the Duke of Monmouth found the mound already formed, and took advantage of it.*

* Communicated by J. Davidson, Esq., of Secktor, near Axminster, who has a fine collection towards a history of Devon

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1685.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16. Duke marches to Chard. — John Speke, Esq. joins. — Discussions about proclaiming the Duke of Monmouth KING. — Remarks. — WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17. Duke arrives at Ilminster. — Party of his men liberate their friends confined in Ilchester gaol. — Albemarle sends men into Lyme with the mayor. — Duke's vessels, and defensive armour taken by a frigate. — Messengers arrive to say London is ready to rise. — THURSDAY, JUNE 18. Duke marches to Taunton. — Retrospect of occurrences at Taunton. — Militia had left the town. — Taunton rises June 17; seize arms. — Duke enters and encamps in a field at the east end of the town. — Fox's description of the Duke's entry. — Magistrates summoned to attend the reading of the Declaration. — Duke's proclamation about taking horses. — FRIDAY, JUNE 19, at TAUNTON. — Maids of Taunton present colours. — Procession. — Albemarle's list of the maids. — Remarks on the flag with the letters J. R. and a crown. — Albemarle takes Wellington. — Lord Churchill enters Chard. — Other particulars. — Professions and trades of many of the Duke of Monmouth's officers. — Earl of Feversham appointed Lieutenant General of the army to be sent against Monmouth. — Other appointments, and disposition of the King's forces. — Report of the King's death. — SATURDAY, JUNE 20. at Taunton. — First council of war. — Monmouth persuades some of his followers to consent to his being PROCLAIMED KING. — Reasons assigned by the Duke. — Remarks. — Historical anecdote. — Comment upon the flag marked J. R., and having a crown. — The people considered from the first the Duke of Monmouth came to claim the Crown. — Engagement of the Duke made in his Declaration. — Subject pursued.

EARLY this morning the Duke marched to Chard, and encamped in a field near the town, where he lay that night.* "The marches were slow; the halts many," is the language of an historian, who attributes this to design, on the part of the Duke, to form his men.†

* Wade. † Dalrymple.

The Duke was now on the spot which had witnessed his triumphant career, in a progress so short a time before, when he passed from White Lackington House to Ford Abbey. His friend, Mr. Prideaux, was not at that seat, having been seized and carried off to town by a king's messenger two days before.

A party went in the evening to Ford Abbey, to search for horses and arms, but procured none; another party of twenty were more successful about nine o'clock, and brought away, in spite of the entreaties of Madame (Mrs.) Prideaux, the coach-horses.

George Speke, Esq., of White Lackington House, four miles distant, had absconded. He was too old to take the field, as in the days of Charles I. He sent his eldest son, John Speke, formerly member of Parliament for Ilchester, with a reinforcement of what Wade expressively called "ragged horse." The number was forty; and the names were not remembered by Wade.

John Speke, Esq., now Colonel, was the most influential person who had come to the Duke of Monmouth. No great men made their appearance; no titled person joined. What is the reason?" was a question, doubtless, often asked. This question was all important, and led to discussions, in which the first proposal was broached about proclaiming the Duke of Monmouth KING.

Where great odium attaches to any serious step taken in human affairs, there will usually be found many too ready unfairly to shift the blame upon others. Such was the case in this instance. Wade's account of the proceeding appears satisfactory to Fox, who quotes him as an authority, and thus mentions the affair.

"Ferguson made the proposal, and was supported by Lord Grey; but it was *easily run down*, as Wade ex-

presses it, *by those who were against it,* and whom, therefore, we must suppose to have formed a very considerable majority of the persons deemed of sufficient importance to be consulted on such an occasion."*

After reading Echard's history, many are led to believe that the Duke of Monmouth entertained views upon the crown which were concealed, and even diligently so, from his followers; and that the pretending to be king was some new thing, foreign, and even contrary to any thing designed when the expedition was prepared, therefore a departure from the terms and understanding upon which his followers joined. Echard printed Ferguson's MS. No dependence can be placed upon the veracity of that remarkable character, who called Hooke to witness that he was against the kingship at this juncture. All concur in asserting that Ferguson advised the assuming the title of King. The following lines contain one of the falsehoods of that arch-traitor and villain, terms with which Oldmixon brands him.

"Ferguson used to relate an anecdote to particular friends, how he gratified, during the voyage, his desire of sounding the Duke's inclinations. One day, sitting by himself in a musing posture, the Duke asked him, in a joking manner, 'about what he was studying and thinking?' Ferguson replied, as it were betwixt jest and earnest, 'I am thinking to beg a particular favour of you, when you are King of England, that I may be your prime minister of state.' His Grace, perhaps without much thought, answered, 'I cannot do that, for I have designed,' or, 'I am under an obligation to grant that to Lord ———,' by which Ferguson, as he used to say afterwards, made a double discovery."

* History of James II., p. 241.

We shall find that Ferguson meant, by the double discovery, that he found the Duke really intended to aim at the Crown; and that the Earl of *Sunderland* had a promise of a reward for treason, viz. a similar post to that which he held under James II.

The Duke of Monmouth came as head and Captain-General of the Protestant forces of the kingdom assembled for the ends expressed in the Declaration, wherein it is explained that "he doth not, *at present*, insist *upon his title*" [to the crowns of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland]; "but leaves the determination thereof to the wisdom, justice, and authority of a parliament legally chosen and acting with freedom." The allowing himself to be proclaimed King would be in direct contradiction to that part of the Declaration quoted above; but it will be shown, in future pages, to be in accordance with the explanations given to Sir Patrick Hume, and the Scotch followers of Argyle, to this effect, that he did not intend to claim the Crown, unless it was *advised by his followers;* and after success attended him, he should lay it down, and use no title but by the advice, and to the advantage, of the common cause.

Lord Grey advised the Duke to proclaim himself King on his first landing, and had threatened to leave him unless he did so.* Now that numbers had considerably increased, we find Lord Grey urging on a measure, which, however, was not adopted. Would the Duke of Monmouth have been in a worse position if he had declared himself King upon landing?—This subject will be renewed.

The Duke's forces marched from Chard to Ilmin-

* Lord Dartmouth's MS. note on Burnet's Hist., 3d line, i. 646., quoted by Rose.

ster, a distance of four miles, and encamped in a field about half a mile beyond the town.

Wednesday, June 17. — Whiting, the Quaker, furnishes casual information at this time. He had proceeded southward, as elsewhere described, particularly how he was questioned by a guard at Wrington, to Somerton for a meeting with his dear friend Sarah Hurd, with whom he was "about to proceed in marriage."

> "But that the scrambling and unquiet time
> Did push it out of farther question."
>
> SHAKSPEARE.

He informs us that some of the Duke's men had been at Ilchester, the county town, where the county prison was, to free some of the Duke's friends, who were taken up on suspicion and imprisoned, when on their way from London to join him. They withal freed all they found prisoners there on account of conscience, and among the rest some of the Friends. The prudence of the members of this society was strikingly displayed on this occasion; for they took no notice (or advantage of it), says Whiting, but went out and in as at other times. By this caution they escaped greater severities.

Amongst those who regained their liberty on this occasion was William Jenkins, the son of Mr. William Jenkins, a famous dissenting teacher of the metropolis. The latter had a short time before sunk under an imprisonment in the city gaol, when his son had the imprudence, in his state of exasperated feelings, to give mourning-rings with this inscription, "William Jenkins, murdered in Newgate." This occasioned his being taken up, with some others, and thrown into Ilchester Gaol.

Let us consider what operations were going on in

[1] Wade.

Monmouth's rear, as we shall soon have to describe the preparations making before him by the King.

The fugitive mayor of Lyme, Mr. Gregory Alford, marched out of Exeter with the Duke of Albemarle, and returned to that borough with three companies of militia, which Duke Christopher spared for the purpose. Captain Trevanion, of the Suadadoes frigate, visited that port. The Duke of Monmouth's frigate had sailed; but the Pink and Dogger were in the Cobb, and were captured, together with forty barrels of powder, and between four and five thousand breast and head-pieces, which were for cavalry.* Monmouth's friends at Bridgwater were told by Mr. Roger Hoare that the ships off Lyme were the Duke of Monmouth's, and were under the command of Sir Jeremy Smith.†

Somewhere in this part of the Duke's career, when on the march, two persons joined to say, the friends of the cause in London were ready to rise, under Colonel Danvers. The reason they assigned for not having done so before was, that they expected a rising in Cheshire. Monmouth sent them back with a domestic servant to say, he was assured there would immediately be a rising in Cheshire, and to bid them hasten, and to send down Sir Robert Payton. They set off, promising to rise in five or six days, though they feared, from news since their leaving London, that many of their spies were secured.‡

The Duke of Monmouth's force marched from Ilminster sixteen miles to Taunton, so beautifully situated, upon which so many epithets have been lavished, such

* Scarce tract, Grose's Antiquarian Repertory. MS. letter from Lord Clarendon to Lord Abingdon, June 23. Original sold at the sale of the late Lord Berwick.

† Information of William Ludlow, Lansdown, 1152—1291.

‡ Lord Grey's Narrative of the Rye-House Plot.

as "Metropolis of the faction of the West,"—"Fanatic place of trade," &c. That interesting town contained a larger population, it is said, than in the present day, engaged in the making of serges. These manufacturers were mostly Dissenters.

Taunton exercised an important influence upon the west of England; and is found to have occupied a large share of the attention of the ministry throughout the reign of Charles II.*

Justice cannot be done to the triumphant entry of Monmouth's army without a brief retrospect of a few occurrences previous to that event.

The Dissenters of Taunton had their pulpits and pews burnt in 1683, amidst great rejoicing. They were prostrate, and the church was full every Sunday of Nonconformists, who avoided the penalties for non-attendance.†

About the 7th or 8th of June, 1685, Sir Edward Phillips and Colonel Lutterell, by his Majesty's command, came to Taunton. A part of the Somerset militia, commanded by Colonel Lutterell, kept the town from rising, upon the news of the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme, June 11.

Colonel Lutterell returned, after an absence, Saturday June 13., and marched out with his regiment in the afternoon towards Chard, in order to form a junction with the Duke of Albemarle from Exeter, and block up Monmouth in Lyme.

The militia troops, by their cheerful and forward manner, inspired the royalists with confidence. The prisons were full of men who had been intercepted running to Lyme‡: and, as no soldiers were left, the

* See Sir L. Jenkins's State Papers.

† State Paper Office, xiii. A.D. 1683.

‡ The Axe Papers say the Saturday preceding.

magistrates kept guard themselves till Lord Stawel's regiment, commanded by Major Prouse, marched in with a waggon-load of ammunition on Sunday morning.*

On Tuesday morning, June 16., some of the Somerset militia, of Colonel Lutterell's regiment, brought news of the disorder into which they had been thrown between Axminster and Chard, where they had been met by the Duke of Monmouth's forces. These militia men did not know that the Duke was marching upon Taunton; but this information was brought towards night, when the "town was full of the frightful news:" this increased hourly. The guards were set with all care; but the great fear of the enemy's coming increasing, about midnight the drums beat, and all the officers and soldiers marched out, leaving the ammunition behind. "The orders," says the Rev. Mr. Axe, "the officers gave at parting were, that the soldiers should appear at Bridgwater the next day. But," the reverend gentleman adds, "neither soldier nor officer appeared."*

Taunton, that appeared subdued while the overpowering militia force remained, continued tranquil till the following morning, July 17. About four o'clock A. M. the population, perceiving that the soldiers were gone, began to assemble. At five they came to the church of St. Mary Magdalene for the arms which had been recently placed in the tower for security. They got in at the windows, upon the leads, and obtained possession of the arms.† Juno's direction to the fury

* Axe Papers.

† The deputy-lieutenants were ordered to prevent the militia arms from being surprised. The floor between the belfry and the bells was, it is supposed, used as a storeroom for the arms.

Alecto will occur to the scholar, as having been fulfilled on this occasion: —

"Arma velit, poscatque simul rapiatque juventus."
VIRGIL, *Æneid* vii.

The Rev. Mr. Axe came; but his influence on such an occasion was quite gone. A man with a musket addressed him with an oath, exclaiming, "The town is ours." He now judged it prudent to withdraw. The mob liberated the prisoners, particularly a Nonconformist minister named Vincent, who had been confined a day or two before; searched houses for arms, and then marched out towards Chard, to join Mr. Axe, says the arch rebel.*

About four in the afternoon a troop of Monmouth's horse, commanded by Captain Hucker, a great sergemaker of Taunton, entered that town. Colonel Phillips had carried away prisoner this person, whose brother, it has been stated, informed the magistrates of his having received a message from the Duke. He had found means to escape in the disordered retreat or flight of the Somerset militia, and had an interview with the Duke, who was to take up his residence at his house.

Thursday, June 18. — On the day after Captain Hucker's arrival the Duke of Monmouth marched from Ilminster to Taunton, and encamped in a field at the west end of the town. Every one who had a horse, or could procure one, went out to meet him.* The streets of Taunton at that time were very narrow, and so thronged were they that the Duke's force could scarcely enter.

Fox gives the following glowing account of the scene. Speaking of the place itself — Taunton, he says, "It was a town where, as well for the tenor

* Axe Papers.

of former occurrences as from the zeal and number of the Protestant Dissenters, who formed a great portion of its inhabitants, he had every reason to expect the most favourable reception. His expectations were not disappointed. The inhabitants of the upper as well as the lower classes vied with each other in testifying their affection for his person and their zeal for his cause. While the latter rent the air with applauses and acclamations, the former opened their houses to him and to his followers, and furnished his army with necessaries and supplies of every kind. His way was strewed with flowers; the windows were thronged with spectators, all anxious to participate in what the warm feelings of the moment made them deem a triumph. Husbands pointed out to their wives, mothers to their children, the brave and lovely hero, who was destined to be the deliverer of his country. The beautiful lines which Dryden makes Achitophel, in his highest strain of flattery, apply to this unfortunate nobleman, were in this instance literally verified: —

> "Thee, Saviour, thee, the nation's vows confess,
> And never satisfied with seeing, bless.
> Swift unbespoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
> And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name."

Oldmixon states, that "one would have thought the people's wits were flown away in the flights of their joy."

The magistrates that remained were summoned in a threatening manner to attend the reading of the Declaration, and several were present.* Mr. Axe asserts that the whole army hardly amounted to 3000 in all, four guns, and about ten waggons. Great numbers here came in to the Duke. Great was the enthusiasm that prevailed.

* Axe Papers.

The Duke deemed it advisable to issue on the day of his arrival the following proclamation: —

"WHEREAS, to the great scandal and reproach of the cause we are engaged in, and contrary to our intention and express command, several lewd and dissolute persons, repairing to us under pretence of zeal for their country and the common cause, but in truth to no other end but that they may find opportunity to rob and pillage the good people of all they can lay hold of, have, as we are informed, under pretence of our orders, seized and taken all horses they can lay their hands on, to the great oppression of the people, and to our unspeakable grief and trouble, our designs and intentions being only to relieve the distressed and oppressed, and not to increase their grievances. We do therefore strictly charge and command all souldiers, both horse and foot, and all other persons whatsoever, that from henceforth they presume not to seize or take any horse from any person whatsoever without our especial orders in writing, commanding the same on pain of death to every one that shall offend therein. And we do hereby encourage all persons that shall receive any wrong from any of our souldiers to repair to our camp and make their complaints, it being our full resolution to do justice to all persons whatsoever. Given at our camp at Taunton this 18th of June, 1685.

"MONMOUTH."*

The Duke had many around him who must have known what resistance had been offered to the contending parties, in the great civil war, by the country people, when they learnt there was no reparation to be

* Harleian MS., 7006. art. 184.

had for losses or redress for their injuries. He attempted to remove all cause for complaint; but it will be seen that his exertions to secure this object were not effectual.

Friday, June 19. — This day must be memorable in the annals of Taunton for a ceremony which is peculiarly interesting. From this day begins the fame of the "Maids of Taunton," who presented to the Duke of Monmouth the colours they had worked with their own hands, though the expense of the material was defrayed by the inhabitants of the town.

Most historians introduce some brief mention of this gala day: the detailed accounts have not been satisfactory. Twenty-seven colours were to be presented by as many virgins. Miss Blake, who conducted a school, was a fervent supporter of the Duke of Monmouth: her scholars were from eight to ten years of age, and had the singular fortune of engrossing particular attention when placed within the sphere of all the fascination of pomp, and eventually after they had been exposed to the signal visitation of the offended law.

The gay procession called for the Duke of Monmouth at the house of Captain Hucker, where his Grace sojourned. As the Duke came out to receive the virgins he saluted each; and Lord Grey did the same.* The leader, or, as she has been styled, the "captain of the virgins," Miss Blake, preceded the others with a naked sword in one hand, and a small curious Bible in the other, which she presented, with a short acceptable speech; at which the Duke in a manner transported, assured her "he came now into the field with a design to defend the truths contained in that book, and to seal it with his blood, if there should be occasion for it."† His Grace then mounted his horse; and the twenty-seven young

* Axe Papers. † Echard.

ladies followed, each bearing a colour and led by a man.*

Miss Blake only headed twelve of her pupils. That lady and a Mrs. Musgrave, schoolmistress, were afterwards excepted from the King's pardon. Probably the fourteen other colour-bearers were this lady and her thirteen pupils. We may suppose her position to have been somewhat inferior to that of Miss Blake, which has prevented her name from being generally mentioned. The Duke of Albermarle procured the names for the Earl of Sunderland, which he caused to be written on the back of the letter, giving a copy of Monmouth's summons to him.†

The information, upon a parallel column, clearly exhibits that the Duke had his eye upon the ability of the parents to pay; and that in rendering an account of his military proceedings to the ministry he was not inattentive to what affected the pockets of the courtiers — the mulcting the young ladies who had figured in so remarkable a manner.

"*Seven-and-twenty Colours given by the Maids of the Town of Taunton, introduced by Colonel Bovet's Daughter.*

THEIR NAMES.	
Kath. Bovet,	Her father a colonel.
Mary Blake,	Rich.
Sarah Blake,	
Susannah Peck,	
Eliza Gammon Hucker,	Kinswoman to the captain.
Anne Herring,	Their father was a captain.
Susan Herring,	
Grace Herring,	
Mary Mead,	The Golden Flag, J. R., a crown, fringed lace round.
Eliza Simpson,	Shopkeeper, rich.
Sarah Reynolds,	Rich.
Two of Mr. Thomas Baker's daughters,	He one of Monmouth's Privy Council, very rich.‡

* Axe Papers. † Harleian MS. 7006.

‡ Mrs. Hester Milner, youngest daughter of a well-known Presby-

This list settles the point in dispute as to there being two Miss Blakes. We shall have to refer to them again.

The trite saying of "Coming events cast their shadows before," cannot fail to occur to the mind of any one who has read over the list with attention. What is the meaning of the "Golden Flag, J. R., a crown?" Treating of Monmouth as Duke, this matter may not be intelligible: subsequent events enable us to understand that the initial letters represent *Jacobus Rex* — King James. There must have been some prophetic spirit, that could have designed such a flag as this! The reader will not be surprised at soon learning of a proclamation of the Duke of Monmouth as KING.

The Duke found, on the day of the grand procession, that if he stayed at Taunton other matters than those of peaceful parade would soon occupy his force, intelligence being brought that the Duke of Albermarle had taken possession of Wellington, seven miles west of Taunton. This caused Monmouth to make some small entrenchments on the roads leading that way, and to establish some strong out-posts. Colonel Wade was on guard with the whole of the Duke's regiment, and continued on duty this night and all the next day till evening, when he was relieved, and had quarters assigned for

terian minister, Dr. John Milner, of Peckham, in whose school Dr. Hawkesworth and Oliver Goldsmith were assistants, died in 1817. She used to relate anecdotes of her family, once resident in Somersetshire. Her mother's mother was a pupil at Miss Blake's. The young lady's parents, hearing of the indiscreet zeal of Miss Blake, sent for their daughter a few days before the colours were presented, with what good fortune remains to be related. — See *Gentleman's Mag.*, 87., part. I., p. 277.

his regiment. This was the first night (20th June) they lay in beds since they landed.'

Lord Churchill had arrived at Chard with some regulars; Sir William Portman with a regiment of the Somersetshire militia, and a regiment of the Devon militia. †

Some interesting particulars of the alarm created by the news of the arrival of the Duke of Albermarle at Wellington, and the state of things at Taunton during the stay of the Monmouth army, may be gleaned from Whiting the Quaker. His boldness, whether in escorting his intended wife's sister, or in going about the country at such a time to court, amidst war's alarms, his friend Sarah Hurd, is to be admired. He had been at a quarterly meeting of Friends at Gregory Stoke, six miles from Taunton, where he learnt of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival in that town, and of the country's flocking in to him. "After meeting (time)" he continues, in his peculiar style, so full of incident and circumstance, "I went to a friend's house, where I met with my friend S. H.'s (Sarah Hurd) sister Scott, who looked exceeding sad and sorrowful; I asked her what the matter was? She told me that her husband was gone out with his horses to the Duke (being one that dealt in horses, expecting to make advantage of them, which proved a snare to him), and she was afraid they should be ruined; desiring me to go home with her that night, and go with her next day to Taunton, to see to get him home, which accordingly I did, calling by the

Wade.

† Sir W. Portman's Diary is lost. He intended it for the Rev. Mr. Axe; but retained it, in order to revise it.

way at the Lady Jenning's (Esq. Speke's daughter*), who was all afloat about the Duke thinking the day was their own; and next day went to Taunton with her. We put up at the Three Cups Inn, and soon met with her husband, and reasoned with him about it; but he had appeared to the Duke, and involved himself so with his horses that we could not get him home with us. It happened that the Duke and the Lord Grey were then at dinner at Captain Hucker's, over against the said inn; and she, with her sister Roman, went over to speak with the Duke, to desire him not to take it amiss if her husband went home, for it was contrary to our persuasion to appear in arms, because we could not fight; and had a pretty deal of discourse with him (for she was a woman that could handle her tongue as well as most). The Duke seemed to take it well enough, and told her he did not desire that any should appear against their consciences, so they left him and came away. I standing against the inn-gate observing passages, among the rest came a relation (not a Friend) on a great high horse, and crossing a kennel, his horse slipping, fell with him, and wet him sadly, which I thought looked a little ominous; but I did not go out of my way to see the army, which lay in a field hard by the town, or any of them, which I account a great preservation; and soon after the Duke and Lord Grey came forth and took horse (their horses being held in the street all the time), and rode down the street the same way as we were to go home; and two great guns were hauled down before

* Mary Speke, married to Thomas Jennings, Esq., of Burton, Somersetshire. See the tombs of the Jennings family in Curry Rivel Church. She was the *Lady* of the parish, or the squire's lady. The squire's lady is thus addressed by the poor in the present day.

them to plant (as they said) at the town's end. It being reported that the Duke of Albermarle (lord-lieutenant of the county of Devon) was coming against them, so we took horse and rode down after; and when we came to the town's end, the street was so full of people that I thought it impossible to get through the crowd; but asking one if we could ride by, he said we might of one side, so I put forward till I was got into the middle of them, looking about me to see the Duke. I asked somebody which was him. He showed me just at my right hand, so I stopped a little to take a view of him, and thought he looked very thoughtful and dejected in his countenance, and thinner than when I saw him four years before, as he passed through Ilchester, in his progress as aforesaid, that I hardly knew him again, and was sorry for him as I looked at him. I spoke a few words to him, which I do not mention out of vanity, but to show how narrowly I escaped a snare at that time: to the Lord's protecting hand of Providence I ascribe it in my preservation. So we past on, and had not rode above a mile or two, but we met two men coming riding a gallop, as fast as their horses could go (which, as they passed by, I knew one of them), who said, turn out of the road, the Duke of Albemarle is at hand (but it was a false alarm, for he came not near); so we turned off a by-way and came safe home to Hambridge, and heard not anything of my being at Taunton, or that there was any notice taken of it (though I saw several that I knew) till a pretty while after the defeat and assizes, I think."

The Duke of Albemarle sent a list to the Earl of Sunderland of "commission officers" in Monmouth's camp, whose names he had learnt. These were Colonel

John Speke and Colonel Bovet; Captains Slape, Hucker, Savidge, Whitcombe, Bovet, Herring, Wyatt; Lieutenant William Reeves, Perniscombe (Battiscombe?); Ensign Flemming.* Are we to suppose these were officers to whom commissions had been lately granted, or that some officers had no commissions? Many officers whose names occur is this history had no experience in arms. Some of the most conspicuous were not soldiers by profession. Wade was a lawyer; Dare a goldsmith; Perrot a silk-dyer; Marder, a goldsmith; Battiscomb, a lawyer; John Hucker, a serge-maker, &c. With Fletcher, Monmouth lost the only soldier he had. This is to be taken literally. That well-known character was a soldier by profession.

The lower orders were not trained to arms. They were warm, or rather enthusiastic in the cause. Many, though humble, had not been out of the reach of religious persecution, and having drawn the sword, were ready to stand by the result of arms. They furnish a remarkable exception to the general rule laid down by the poet:

> "No faith, no honour can the mob restrain,
> That follow camps, and fight for sordid gain;
> Like ruffians brib'd, they ne'er the *cause* inquire,
> That's the just side, which gives the largest hire."
>
> *Rowe's Lucan.*

Though untaught the trade of war, these hardy swains were formidable when embodied and in arms, from the very inconsiderable force of the regular or standing army then maintained on foot in the kingdom. These amounted to five thousand men, of which a great portion was required to awe the metropolis.†

* Harleian MS., 7006. Lingard.

The several noble commanders of the militia forces were informed by letters of this date (19th June) that a Frenchman, the Earl of Feversham, was appointed lieutenant-general, and was to march to-morrow with a considerable body of horse and foot, and a train of artillery, into the west.* The Earl of Gainsborough was to march upon Chippenham, after having sent a company into Poole, and there secure Colonels Dore and Sanborne.

The Earl of Dorset was directed to send the militia horse of Sussex to suppress those rebels which were about the New Forest. Lord Lumley had this affair entrusted to him, and was to receive assistance from the Earl of Gainsborough.* The Duke of Beaufort had two officers sent to advise with and assist him; Sir William Stapleton and Captain Spalding, the latter of whom was to raise a troop of horse. Colonel Cannon was sent to assist the Duke of Somerset.*

The King now collected that the principal object against which Monmouth's views were directed was Bristol. Lord Churchill was to attend to the motions of the rebels, and post himself between them and that city. The King considered Bridgwater was the best position for Lord Churchill, but left the whole choice to his discretion. The officers of excise at Bristol had orders to pay to his order 4000*l.* A commission was to be sent to Colonel Strangways to raise a regiment of foot out of the militia. Lord Churchill was to be promoted to the rank of brigadier.*

Lord Sunderland informed Lord Churchill, June 17., that orders had been sent to the

* State Paper Office. Sunderland Papers.

Duke of Beaufort	to secure	Bristol,	with such part of the Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford militia, as he shall think requisite.
Earl of Gainsborough, Earl of Pembroke.	to draw towards	Salisbury,	with the Hampshire militia.
Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Abingdon,	to march to	Reading,	with the Berkshire and Oxford militia.
—— (No name,)		Farnham,	with the Surrey militia.

A report had been spread all this day and on Thursday night, as brought by that day's post, that King James II. was dead. The Rev. Mr. Axe remembered to have heard many followers (when prisoners) insisting upon this report of the King's death as their principal reason for having joined Monmouth.

This day was productive of great events. To him who would record them falls the task of having to investigate the circumstances of the Duke of Monmouth's being *proclaimed* KING.

It was at Taunton that the Duke of Monmouth called the first council of war, having before done every thing upon his own judgment. The subject they met to discuss was of great moment,—whether they should march back, and give battle to the Duke of Albemarle, or march on? It was determined to march onwards.*

Monmouth then took Wade and others aside, and persuaded them to consent to his being *proclaimed* KING; alleging that according to the intelligence he had received, it was a great obstruction to his affairs, and the only reason why the country gentlemen did

not come in to join him, being all averse to a Commonwealth, which, as the Duke said, they were all jealous, they intended to set up. He promised them to set forth, next day, a Proclamation, in which he would make fresh promises to the people of the liberties promised them in his Declaration.*

Wade, and the majority, who so easily "ran down" the proposal, when made, on the 16th June, at Chard, and who formed the republican part of the Duke's force, now yielded. The republicans, perhaps, found they should be out-voted by favourers and flatterers, as well as by those who liked the pomp of royalty. Though this was not likely to be realised at the moment, it was bewitching in prospect, and was irresistible.† Many persons and preachers were so firmly possessed with the opinion that the Proclamation as King would bring in the gentry, that they persuaded the Duke to the measure.‡

There are two great reasons assigned for this important step, the proclaiming himself King:—I. To induce the gentry to join; II. To put his adherents, and those who should become so, in a better legal position than they otherwise would be placed in.

I. In order to induce the *gentry to join*, it was doubtless necessary to repudiate any commonwealth views, which were clearly suspected; and to show that the favourite form of government in this country, *monarchy*, would be preserved.—More will be said on this subject.

* Wade. † Lingard.

‡ Lansdown MS. 1152. Depositions of Richard Goodenough, paymaster to the army, Williams, the servant of Monmouth, &c. Hicks, before his execution, declared it to be false that he was the principal adviser; and cited, as a proof of his statement, that he did not join for several days after this.

II. To put his adherents in a better legal position, it was judged to be desirable to make them, instead of being the adherents of the head of an insurrection, the followers of a King, *de facto* at least, if not *de jure*.

Dr. Welwood writes, in his Memoirs (p. 148.), that "it was importunity alone that prevailed with Monmouth to take this step; and that he was inflexible till it was told him that the only way to provide against the ruin of those that should come to his assistance, in case he failed, was to declare himself King, that they might be sheltered under the statute of Henry VII., made in favour of those that should obey a king *de facto*."

An excellent statute enacted under Henry VII., and deemed by some great writers to be only declaratory of the common law, but occasioned, no doubt, by some harsh judgments of treason which had been pronounced during the late competition of the houses of York and Lancaster, assured "a perfect indemnity to all persons obeying a king for the time being, however defective his title might come to be considered when another claimant should gain possession of the throne. It established the duty of allegiance to the existing government upon a general principle; but in its terms it certainly presumed that government to be a monarchy. This furnished the judges, upon the trial of Sir Henry Vane, with a distinction of which they willingly availed themselves."* Mr. Hallam censures them for determining that Charles II. had been a king *de facto* as well as *de jure* from the moment of his father's death, though, in the words of their senseless sophistry, "kept out of the exercise of his royal authority by traitors and rebels."*

* Hallam's Constitutional History of England.

Dalrymple mentions another argument, that Monmouth and James were not equal, as one, by royal proclamations, could intimidate, the other not.

The following extract from the page of English history was not without its effect:—

When Edward the Fourth, having been attainted in parliament, came with forces into the kingdom against Henry the Sixth, pretending to lay claim to his inheritance of the Duchy of York, the Lords told him, "that they would not, nor durst not join him unless he would style himself King;" which he immediately did.*

If the Duke even was reluctant, he was induced, at last, to use his influence with the republican part of his followers to gain their consent to his being proclaimed King. Having entered Taunton with only 3000 men, his force now amounted to 7000. The making the flag, on which were worked the initials *J. R. and a Crown*, must have been known to numbers; the allowing such a flag to be carried the day before in a procession through Taunton to the camp was equivalent to an announcement that JAMES DUKE OF MONMOUTH claimed to be JAMES KING OF ENGLAND. This flag, the work of the "Maids of Taunton," so innocently borne by Mary Mead, was probably designed to try the temper of Taunton and the troops,—a ceremonial preparation, or introductory, perhaps, like some dances of the American Indians. Had there been a deep manifestation of anger or aversion displayed, nothing more might have been heard for a while of proclamation of a King: this being, however, wanting in either form, the ceremony must have been expected at no remote period. All was ripe for the

* Echard.

assumption of a title to the Crown. The question has been entertained, who was the first prompter to the assumption of the royal title? It can be shown that before the matter was broached by his adherents, the people considered that the Duke was come to claim the Crown.

In the archives of Lyme Regis, Gerrard Gowling, an informer, deposed before Mr. Gregory Alford, the mayor, "that on June 16., the day after Monmouth departed Lyme, he went into Bernard Browne's house, and Ulalia, his wife, asked the examinate, "Who is KING now?"

The Duke of Monmouth has been censured for allowing himself, or, as Wade affirmed, for "being very willing*," to be proclaimed King. When treating of the first mention of such a proposal at Chard it has been shown, I. That the proclamation as King was in direct contradiction to that part of the DECLARATION wherein it is explained, that "he doth not *at present* insist upon his title to the Crown (of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland), but leaves the determination thereof to the wisdom, justice, and authority of a parliament legally chosen, and acting with freedom." II. There was nothing in contradiction to the engagements made, and the explanations given, to Sir Patrick Hume (afterwards Lord Marchmont), and the Scotch followers of Argyle in Holland.

I. As to the language of the Declaration, it is as follows: —

"And forasmuch as the said James Duke of Monmouth, the now head and captain-general of the Protestant forces of this kingdom, assembled in pursuance of the ends aforesaid, hath been and still is believed to have

Lansdown, 1152—1515.

a *legitimate* and *legal right* to the Crown of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with the dominions thereunto belonging, of which he doubts not in the least to give the world full satisfaction, notwithstanding the means used by the late King his father, upon popish motives, and at the instigation of the said James Duke of York, to weaken and obscure it; the said Duke of Monmouth, from the generousness of his own nature, and the love he bears to these nations (whose welfare and settlement he infinitely prefers to whatsoever may concern himself), doth not at *present insist upon his title*, but leaves the determination thereof to the wisdom, justice, and authority of a parliament legally chosen, and acting with freedom."

II. Sir Patrick Hume's account of the interview and conversation with the Duke of Monmouth contains the following heads of the exposition of his intentions made to the Scotch followers of Argyle.*

Being met to treat with the Duke of Monmouth, they went over the subjects that had been previously discussed. Finding the Duke firmly resolved, Sir Patrick Hume asked him, in what *character* he intended *to join and act?*

The Duke answered, as an Englishman, for the Protestant religion and liberties of the nations, against the Duke of York, usurper of the royal dignity, and his associates, oppressors of the people in all three nations, in their religion, consciences, rights, and liberties.

Being urged as to the considering himself to be the *lawful son* of Charles II. the Duke said he did so. When asked if he was able to make out and clearly prove the *marriage* of his *mother* to King Charles, and

* Appendix to Sir George Rose's Observations on Fox's History of James II.

if he intended to claim the crown? the Duke replied, "he had been able lately to prove the marriage, and if some persons are not lately dead, of which he could inform himself, he would be able to prove it." As for his CLAIMING THE CROWN, "he intended not to do it unless it were ADVISED TO BE DONE by those who *should concern themselves, and join for delivering of the nations;* and that whether so or not, he would *lay no claim,* or use *no title,* but by advice, and to the advantage of the common cause; and if, and when, they should prevail, he should *lay it down,* and give it up into the hands of the people, or their representatives, for establishing their religion, and a solid and good model of government, such as they should think fit to settle; and that for his part he should cheerfully and heartily accept of what station in the commonwealth they should bestow upon him; and thinking himself fully rewarded by being the instrument of so much good to the nations."

Sir Patrick Hume, upon this, made a most important communication to the Duke of Monmouth, that he found many of their best friends in England, jealous of the Duke's *aspiring to the royal dignity;* "of which by reason of the great abuses of it, and the miserable consequences, so habitual as now become its second nature, they were extremely disgusted, and so somewhat averse from meddling with him; but if he would on the terms of his discourse give full assurance to such of them as were in the Low Countries, many at Amsterdam, whereof they might certify many to whom they had access, he would quickly be most acceptable to all, and in all probability be the great instrument of the nations' deliverance; and obtain for himself and his family a more honourable and better-established station and condition than any King upon earth."

The Duke of Monmouth, upon this, made solemn asseverations that he intended and would do as he had spoken, repeating what is before rehearsed, and said he would give the like assurance to the English, as he did very solemnly. Upon which those who from being jealous of his assuming the Crown were his greatest opponents, "were cordially joined to him, and entirely of a peace with him."

In the Life of James II. it is asserted that Argyle lived to hear of Monmouth's having been proclaimed; and that he complained of a breach of promise to him in this particular, the Duke having, writes James II., solemnly engaged to set up for a commonwealth. Ralph does not go so far, but also mentions Argyle's having complained of a breach of agreement about Monmouth's having been proclaimed King, and the delay in coming to England.* Monmouth's excuse in this particular was the being delayed by contrary winds.

A great partisan of the Duke, Mr. Roger Hoare of Bridgwater, spoke confidently, about June 17., that the Duke would not proclaim himself King until a parliament "fairly selected" declare him so. No doubt can be entertained but that the Duke was considered as coming to take the Crown eventually. "You cannot tell," said Mr. Hoare to others, "what reasons and evidence may be produced to proye the Duke to be lawful heir to the Crown."*

* Lansdown, 1152—1294.

CHAPTER XIX.

A. D. 1685.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20. at Taunton. — Monmouth proclaimed King. — The Proclamation. — How Monmouth was treated after taking the title of King. — Followers come in. — Fox's remarks. — Monmouth looks towards London for an insurrection. — Skirmish at Ashill. — Causes Monmouth to leave Taunton. — Letter to Albemarle. — Reply. — Troops at Chard summoned. — Warrant to seize scythes. — SUNDAY, JUNE 21. at Taunton. — Rumour that Taunton performed less than was promised. — Government judge that Monmouth would probably march upon Exeter. — Monmouth holds a council of war as to his line of march. — Speculation as to the result of attacking Albemarle's forces. — Decided to march to Bridgwater. — Orders sent to commanders from Government to break down the bridge at Keynsham, &c. — Ships fitted out at Bristol. — Fortifying Taunton. — Troops march out. — Monmouth's second Declaration. — Proclamation declaring James Duke of York as traitor, and offering 500*l.* for him, dead or alive. — Proclamation declaring the parliament to be a rebellious and treasonable assembly. — Proclamation declaring all who collect taxes for James II. to be rebels and traitors. — Proclamation declaring the Duke of Albemarle to be a rebel and traitor. — Anecdote of Ferguson. — Movements and stations of the militias. — Monmouth enters Bridgwater. — Gratifying reception. — Monmouth's life-guard. — Voluntary contributions. — Miscellaneous information and report.

SATURDAY, *June* 20. — The proclaiming the Duke of Monmouth to be King of England having been determined on, that ceremony took place this day at the Market Cross; and some of the magistrates were forced to attend in their gowns.* Mr. Tyley read the following

"PROCLAMATION.†

"WHEREAS, upon the decease of our Sovereign Lord Charles the Second, late King of England, &c., the right of succession to the Crown of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereunto

* Axe Papers. † Wade.

belonging, did legally descend and devolve upon the most illustrious and high-born Prince JAMES DUKE OF MONMOUTH, son and heir apparent to the said King Charles the Second; but James Duke of York (taking the advantage of the absence of the said James Duke of Monmouth beyond the seas) did first cause the said late King to be poysoned, and immediately thereupon did usurp and invade the Crown, and doth continue so to doe: We therefore, the noblemen, gentlemen, and Commons at present assembled, in the names of ourselves and of all the loyal and Protestant noblemen, gentlemen, and Commons of England, in pursuance of our duty and allegiance, and for the delivering of the Kingdome from popery, tyranny, and oppression, do recognise, publish, and proclaim the said high and mighty Prince James Duke of Monmouth, our lawful and rightful sovereign and king, by the name of James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

"GOD SAVE THE KING.

"Proclaimed at Taunton the 20th day of June, 1685." *

Monmouth was saluted after this as King; men kissed his hand, and cried "God bless the King;" and he was called "Sir, and his Majesty." He was prayed for as King, commanded as King, paid the army, and

* Harleian MS., 7006. Copy sent by the Duke of Albermarle to the Earl of Sunderland, marked "A Declaration, proclaiming the D. of Monmouth King."

It appears conclusive that Mr. Tyley read the proclamation on this occasion. Mr. Samuel Brown, of Chardleigh, near Chard, has a memorandum made by his father that his ancestor William Brown, sergemaker, of Taunton, the son of the Rev. Samuel Brown, rector of Clayhidon, read it, and fled to London afterwards. This is incorrect, unless we may suppose there were several readings.

touched children for the King's Evil.* Those on King James's side called King Monmouth "Gaffer Scott with his vagabonds."

Colonel Basset, one of Cromwell's captains, came in to the army at Taunton with a considerable corps which he had raised. Colonel Perrot joined. This remarkable character had been a silk-dyer in Southwark, and in the rebellion was a lieutenant to General Harrison. He was an associate of the infamous Blood in the extraordinary attempt upon the crown and regalia. In the narrative of the transaction, by Talbot Edwards, he is called Robert Parrot. His part was to secure the orb. He was taken; and the Ballas ruby, broken off the sceptre, was found in his pocket. Perrot and Blood were examined by Charles II., which perhaps saved them from the gallows. Blood received a pension of 500*l.* a year, and many courted his acquaintance, as Indians reverence devils—that they may not hurt them. The venerable Talbot Edwards received 200*l.* only; but the payment was so long delayed that he and his son sold their orders for half the amount, to pay for curing their wounds received in defence of the regalia!!† Pecuniary embarrassment was the moving cause of Perrot's coming into the West.

Colonel Dore of Lymington proclaimed the Duke of Monmouth, and raised a troop of a hundred men for his service.‡ Numbers returned home for want of arms. The kingship was not viewed with distaste by the common people.

Fox alludes to the increase of the army, and the enthusiasm with which the Duke of Monmouth was

* Howell's State Trials. † Bayley's Hist. of the Tower.
‡ Milner's History of Winchester.

received at this time. The motives that actuated him, and the result or effect of his being proclaimed, are well described, and claim a place here. "But in the midst of these prosperous circumstances, some of them of such apparent importance to the success of this enterprise, all of them highly flattering to his feelings, he did not fail to observe that one favourable symptom (and that, too, of the most decisive nature) was still wanting. None of the considerable families, not a single nobleman, and scarcely any gentleman of rank and consequence in the counties through which he had passed, had declared in his favour." Popular applause is undoubtedly sweet; and not only so—it often furnishes most powerful means to the genius that knows how to make use of them. But Monmouth well knew that without the countenance and assistance of a proportion at least of the higher ranks in the country there was for an undertaking like his little prospect of success. He could not but have remarked that the habits and prejudices of the English people are in a great degree aristocratical; nor had he before him, nor indeed had we since his time, had one single example of an insurrection that was successful, unaided by the ancient families and great landed proprietors. He must have felt this the more because in former parts of his political life he had been accustomed to act with such coadjutors; and it is highly probable that if Lord Russell had been alive, and could have appeared at the head of one hundred only of his western tenantry, such a reinforcement would have inspired him with more real confidence than the thousands who individually flocked to his standard.

But though Russell was no more, there was not wanting, either in the provinces through which the Duke passed or in other parts of the kingdom, many noble and

wealthy families who were attached to the principles of the Whigs. To account for their neutrality, and if possible to persuade them to a different conduct, was naturally among his principal concerns. Their present coldness may be imputed to the indistinctness of his declarations with respect to what was intended to be the future government. Men zealous for monarchy might not choose to embark without some certain pledge that their favourite form should be preserved. They would also expect to be satisfied with respect to the person whom their arms, if successful, were to place upon the throne. To promise, therefore, the continuance of a monarchial establishment, and to designate the future monarch, seemed to be necessary for the purpose of acquiring aristocratical support. Whatever might be the intrinsic weight of this argument, it easily made its way with Monmouth in his present situation. The aspiring temper of mind, which is the natural consequence of popular favour and success, produced in him a disposition to listen to any suggestion which tended to his elevation and aggrandisement; and when he could persuade himself, upon reasons specious at least, that the measures which would most gratify his aspiring desires would be at the same time a stroke of the soundest policy, it is not to be wondered at that it was immediately and impatiently adopted. Urged, therefore, by these mixed motives, he proclaimed himself King, and issued divers proclamations in the royal style, assigning to those whose approbation he doubted the reasons above adverted to, and proscribing and threatening with the punishment due to rebellion such as should resist his mandates, and adhere to the usurping Duke of York.

If this measure was in reality taken with views of policy, those views were miserably disappointed, for it

does not appear that one proselyte was gained. The threats in the Proclamation were received with derision by the King's army, and no other sentiments were excited by the assumption of the royal title than those of contempt and indignation. The commonwealthsmen were dissatisfied, of course, with the principle of the measure; the favourers of hereditary right held it in abhorrence, and considered it as a kind of sacrilegious profanation; nor even among those who considered monarchy in a more rational light, and as a magistracy instituted for the good of the people, could it be at all agreeable that such a magistrate should be elected by the army that thronged to his standard, or by the particular partiality of a provincial town. Monmouth's strength, therefore, was by no means increased by his new title, and seemed to be still limited to two descriptions of persons — first, those who from thoughtlessness or desperation were willing to join in any attempt at innovation; secondly, such as, directing their views to a single point, considered the destruction of James's tyranny as the object which at all hazards, and without regard to consequences, they were bound to pursue."

Monmouth looked with anxiety towards London, where an insurrection was prepared; but no tidings came of its having commenced. Colonel Danvers, the leader, is reported to have said, that the Proclamation of Monmouth as King absolved him from his obligations, as the promise to him (a staunch Republican) was broken. Ferguson states that Danvers not only sent to advise the Duke to take the title of King, but said, when he heard of his having done so, that "it would be of more advantage and importance to him than twenty thousand men." He denies that Danvers failed in his promises because of the Duke's being proclaimed, but

from his cowardice and want of integrity; for, says Ferguson, when they were expecting the rising, Colonel Perrot, who intimately knew Danvers, and had witnessed former instances of his cowardice and deceit, said, they were flattering themselves with hopes of his doing any thing, as "he had neither truth nor valour to render him worthy to be relied on; and that fear would prevail over him to the frustrating what he had the confidence to undertake, and to the total ruin of our cause, if we trusted to him for its support."*

Monmouth could claim no exemption from the law which assigns increasing cares to every new dignity, or immunity from

> Malicious censures; which ever,
> As rav'nous fishes, do a vessel follow
> That is new trimm'd. — *Shakspeare's Henry VIII.*

In the afternoon there was an alarm of an action between some of the scouts and those of the King's forces, in the forest of Ashill, or Neroche, sent out by Lord Churchill, upon his arrival at Chard. Lieutenant Moneux, of Lord Oxford's regiment, headed twenty-four men, and he was the only one killed. The Duke's party were eighteen in number: of these four were killed and several were wounded.† The spot, about half a mile distant from the village of Ashill, is still called the "Fight Ground." Cornet Legg was also killed in an affair of cavalry near the town.

This was but an inconsiderable affair; but Mr. Axe says it decided Monmouth upon moving from Taunton. The regular troops were coming round that place.

* Echard's Hist. of England.
† Axe Papers and London Gazette.

Perkin Warbeck, when he advanced from Cornwall, took flight, and his army dispersed from Taunton, alarmed at the preparations made to receive them. Monmouth feared to be shut up, and his campaign ended. Warbeck had one of the Speke family who joined him; so had Monmouth.

A correspondence between the chancellor and ex-chancellor of Cambridge has to be recorded, which is more connected with war than the peaceful pursuits of literature or science. Monmouth assumes the regal style in addressing Christopher Duke of Albemarle, the chancellor, and former companion, then with his forces at Wellington.

"*To our trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Christopher Lord Duke of Albemarle.*

"My Lord,

"Whereas we are credibly informed that there are some horse and foot in arms under your command for James Duke of York, which are purposely raised in opposition to us and our royal authority; We thought fit to signify to you our resentment thereof, and do promise ourself that what you have transacted therein was through inadvertency and mistake; and that your Grace will take other means, when you have received information of our being proclaimed King, to succeed our royal father, lately deceased. We have therefore sent this messenger on purpose to intimate the same unto you; and it is our royal will and pleasure, and we do hereby strictly charge and command you, upon notice and receipt thereof, to cease all hostility, and force, and arms against us and all our loving subjects; and that your Grace would immediately repair to our

camp, where you shall not fail of a very kind reception by us; or, in default of the premises, we shall be obliged to proclaim you, and all those in arms under your command, rebels and traitors, and shall proceed against you accordingly. Yet we assure ourself that your Grace will pay ready obedience to our command; wherefore we bid you hearty farewell.'

"JAMES R."

The Duke of Albemarle returned an answer by the same trumpet which brought the letter. James II. highly approved of it.†

"*For James Scott, late Duke of Monmouth.*

"I received your letter, and do not doubt but you would use me kindly if you had me; and since you have given yourself the trouble of invitation, this is to let you know that I never was, nor never will be, a rebel to my lawful king, who is James the Second. If you think I am in the wrong, and you in the right, whenever we meet I do not doubt but the justness of my cause shall sufficiently convince you that you had better have lett this rebellion alone, and not have put the nation to so much trouble.

"ALBEMARLE."‡

The regular troops at Chard, commanded by Lord Churchill, Sir W. Portman's Somerset militia, and a regiment of Devonshire militia, were summoned by Monmouth. Mr. Henry Evans, the Duke's messenger,

Harleian MS., 7006.

† Sunderland Papers. State Paper Office.

‡ These letters were printed by authority, 4th August, 1685, and circulated. They appear in Sir Henry Ellis's original letters from the Harleian MS., 7006.

saw Lord Churchill making a jest of the summons. No answer was returned.*

From a scarcity of arms, the great want felt all through this expedition, it was now determined by Monmouth to form a body of scythe-men, to act as grenadiers. The scythes were fixed in straight handles, and were certainly very formidable weapons. Much was expected from them when used against cavalry. Let it not be supposed that men were armed with these rustic weapons as we see them when in use for mowing.

The following is a copy of a warrant to constables and tything-men to impress scythes: —

"JAMES R.

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to will and require you, on sight hereof, to search for, seize, and take all such scythes as can be found in your tything, paying a reasonable price for the same, and bring them to my house to-morrow by one of the clock in the afternoon, that they may be delivered in to the commission officers that are appointed to receive them at Taunton by four of the same day, and you shall be reimbursed by me

* Oldmixon.

what the scythes are worth. And hereof fail not, as you will answer the contrary. Given under my hand this 20th day of June, in the first year of his Majesty's reign.

"To the Tything-men of Ch."*
(supposed Chedzoy.)

Reluctant constables were threatened with having their houses burnt.†

Monmouth was now about to march out of a town which had received him with enthusiasm, and with which his name will ever be associated.

Whether the accession of men, money, and, above all, of arms, was such as Monmouth expected from Taunton, remains veiled in mystery. The Rev. A. Paschall gives a rumour of that day that Monmouth expostulated with the Taunton men "for having fallen short of their promises as to men, money, and arms, by which they had done their part to tempt him over." This is only a rumour: there is, however, a great probability that exaggerated statements had been made to Monmouth.

The men who joined at Taunton were firmly possessed with a belief of the evils, so often alluded to, that were about to visit the nation. The townsmen were "brisk boys," and some of the best of the whole force.

The government were not convinced but that Monmouth might march upon Exeter. In case he did so, the Earl of Feversham was to follow. The Earl of Bath, the Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, had orders to remain at Exeter and concentrate in that city all the Devonshire

* Rev. A. Paschall. Serjeant Heywood's Appendix. † Ralph.

militia not with the Duke of Albemarle. Lord Admiral Herbert had a warrant to put himself and as many seamen into Exeter as he should deem requisite, if circumstances demanded. The Earl of Bath was to cause the two eastern regiments of Cornish militia to march to Saltash, on the eastern boundary of that county.* The government had probably very good reasons for taking these precautions. The business of Monmouth's council of war only the day before was to discuss whether they should march back and give battle to the Duke of Albemarle or march onwards. We know that it was determined to march onwards.† Had the council come to a different conclusion, the Duke of Albemarle would have been attacked. His forces would have been routed, and while a part joined, many arms would have been obtained from others. Exeter would then, in all probability, have been invested, or perhaps, upon the appearance of Monmouth's army, the inhabitants would have risen and admitted them.

Sunday, June 21. — The fifth march it was decided should be upon Bridgwater, distant twelve miles. When the route was known the Duke of Somerset retired to Bath and sent an express to Whitehall. This morning at eleven o'clock an express was despatched from the Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Feversham, to direct the Duke of Somerset to leave four companies in Bath and march to Bristol. His Grace and the Duke of Beaufort were to break down the bridge over the Avon at Keynsham, or, in the language of the minister, which does not say much for the engineering skill of the day, "they

* All from State Paper Office. Inland letters. Sunderland Papers, 22nd and 23rd June, 1685.

† Wade.

were to do their endeavour to break the bridge."* Lord Feversham was to inform these two dukes in what time he should be with them. In the letter was this sentence: *The King thinks much of the importance of* BRISTOL."† When alluding to this city it will be appropriate to mention that the Duke of Beaufort was informed by a letter of this date that the King thought fit to have two ships to apprehend vessels coming into the Severn. With the consent of Sir John Bury, and the rest of his owners, it was determined to employ the *Mediterranean*, Captain Barnaby, then lying at Bristol in readiness to sail for Newfoundland, and another. Sir William Poole and Captain Matthew Aylmer were to command them. The Duke of Beaufort was to assist in expediting these ships. Oldmixon's statement of the capture of one of the Duke's vessels in the Bristol channel by Captain Trevanion is incorrect. That officer captured two at Lyme: the ship arrived in Spain.‡

There was undoubtedly something agitated respecting the fortifying Taunton. This town had stood a memorable siege in the recollection of those then alive; but the lines of circumvallation had been destroyed, like the fortifications of other towns, by orders from the parliament for "slighting of garrisons." It would have been

* At the commencement of the Peninsular war, so little was field-engineering understood, that in the retreat upon Corunna all the mines of demolition made for the destruction of bridges, to arrest the pursuing French, failed, excepting one, in which Lieutenant Davy, a most promising young officer, blew himself up along with the bridge he had destroyed. Officers improved towards the end of the war. General Pasley, at that time, did not succeed in that which the general says now no non-commissioned officer would ever fail in!— *General Pasley's Letter on the recent operations (blowing up a cliff) near Dover. Standard Newspaper, April* 17. 1843.

† State Papers, ii. 236. June 21.

‡ Inland letters, ii. 238. State Paper Office.

a great undertaking to have fortified and provisioned Taunton. Monmouth's forces must have been dangerously diminished, in order to have secured the town against the Duke of Albemarle's militia, or other troops that might have been sent against it. From reports that will be discussed in another place, Captain Hucker, Monmouth's host, was considered to have been disappointed at not being made governor, — an office that it had been determined, as men for a garrison could not be spared, there should be no occasion for; and he stands charged with treason to Monmouth, though unjustly so, in consequence.

On Sunday morning, while the troops were marching out towards Bridgwater, one declaration and four proclamations were published.

No copy of the Declaration, called Monmouth's SECOND DECLARATION, is to be found. The punishment of death to any one publishing, dispensing, or failing to declare the possessor of a copy, accounts for none having been preserved. This Declaration was that promised to Colonel Wade and the Republicans, when he asked them to consent to his being proclaimed King. The Rev. Mr. Axe speaks of it in these words: "The purport of the Declaration was to excuse his breach of promise in allowing himself to be made King, contrary to the terms of his first Declaration. The excuse was the importunities of the people."*

The first Proclamation declared James Duke of York to be a traitor, and offered 500*l.* to any one who should bring him, dead or alive.

Dr. Lingard concludes from Wade (322–323), that the origin of this measure came from Monmouth himself, and was advocated by Lord Grey and Ferguson.

* Axe Papers.

The second Proclamation was read at the Market Cross, the magistrates being obliged to attend in their gowns: —

"BY THE KING.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"JAMES R.

"WHEREAS the present usurper, James Duke of York, did some time before our arrival from beyond the seas, assemble together a company of persons at Westminster, who have for several weeks last past, and still doe continue to vote and act as a parliament under the said usurper; We do, therefore, by this our Royal Proclamation, publish and declare the said assembly to be a rebellious and treasonable convention, and doe declare all and every person and persons that shall presume to sitt, vote, and act in the said assembly from and after the thirtyeth day of June instant to be rebells and traytours, and to be proceeded against accordingly. And our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby enjoyne and strictly charge and command all and every our loving subjects, that if they shall continue to assemble after the said thirtyeth day of June, to pursue and prosecute them as rebells and traitours, with warr and destruction throughout all our dominions. And for so doing this shall be their sufficient authority and warrant.

"Given at our camp at Taunton the 21st day of June, 1685, in the first year of our reign.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

Harleian MS., 7006.

Monmouth's Third Proclamation.

"BY THE KING.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS severall taxes, imposts, and other sums of money are dayly collected and rëc'd by severall persons within our dominions, under colour and pretence of an authority from the present usurper, James Duke of York, to the great oppression of all our loving subjects; Wherefore wee doe hereby publish and declare all such person and persons as shall collect, levy, or receive any sume or sumes of money for the said James Duke of York to be rebells and traitours, and doe declare that they and every of them shall be proceeded against accordingly. And we doe hereby require and streightly charge and command all our loving subjects to forbeare the payment of any sume or sumes of money to or for the use of the said Duke of York, or to any acting by his pretended authority, as they will answer the contrary at their perill.

"Given at our camp at Taunton the 21st day of June, 1685, in the first yeare of our reign.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."*

Monmouth's Fourth Proclamation.

"BY THE KING.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS Christopher Duke of Albemarle, with several other persons, are now in arms at Wellington, in our county of Somerset, and act in hostile manner against us and our authority: We doe therefore, by this

* Harleian MS., 7006—7190.

our Royal Proclamation, publish and declare the said Xtopher Duke of Albemarle, and all such as now joyne and adhere to him, or that shall hereafter assist or abett him, to be rebells and traytours. And we doe hereby authorise and command all our loving subjects to pursue him and them with warr and destruction untill they have subdued the said rebells.

"Given at our camp at Taunton the 21st day of June, 1685, in the first yeare of our reigne.

"GOD SAVE THE KING."

As Monmouth's forces marched out, 7000 strong, Ferguson was observed, having his sword drawn, and was heard many times to say, "I am Ferguson, that famous Ferguson for whose head so many hundred pounds were offered; I am that man, I am that man!" He was provided with a gown and scarf in order to have preached that morning in the beautiful parish church, St. Mary Magdalen's. The Rev. Walter Harte, the vicar, appears to have left the town upon Monmouth's arrival. A servant-maid only remained in his house, from whom Ferguson borrowed these articles the day before.† No provision appears to have been made for defending Taunton against the Duke of Albemarle.

The festive period of Monmouth's stay in Taunton had not extended beyond the space of four days. The Duke of Albemarle entered that town on Tuesday evening, June 23., and sent off the last four proclamations to Lord Sunderland, as his Grace expressed it, "only for his diversion."‡

The Earl of Pembroke was now at Chippenham with the Wiltshire train-bands, and the Earl of Feversham

* Harleian MS., 7006. † Axe Papers.

‡ Harleian MS., 7006. Published in Sir H. Ellis's original letters.

was approaching with the regular troops.* The several counties were moving. Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, proposed, June 20., the raising several volunteer companies in that university. Lord Abingdon wrote this day to the Earl of Clarendon of marching from Oxford to Reading, and of the arrest of certain parties. He states that there is not a Nonconformist minister that he knows of in the county of Oxford.†

The Prince of Orange sent Bentinck to offer his troops against Monmouth. An audience was granted, 20th June. James declined his son-in-law's assistance.† The Spanish ambassador offered James 4000 men.‡

The Duke's forces were more numerous on the march to Bridgwater than at any period, if we may believe Oldmixon, who rates them at 6000 tolerably well armed. Lieutenant Colonel Basset's regiment of foot was 800 strong; to complete which Monmouth had stolen from every regiment all the Taunton people that came to join at Lyme, at least 200. Another addition was Captain Slape's company of scythes and musketeers, a hundred strong, which were incorporated with the Duke's regiment; and two troops of horse, Captain Hucker's and Captain Tucker's, making nearly 160.§

The reception afforded by Bridgwater was very gratifying. Mr. Alexander Popham and his brethren, the corporation, proclaimed Monmouth at the High Cross. The camp was at the Castle-field, on the east side of the town. The Duke lodged in the castle close by, rendered so famous by its siege and gallant defence by the famous Blake, a native of the town.‖

* Oldmixon. Mazure. † Clarendon Correspondence, by Singer. § Wade. ‖ Oldmixon.

Monmouth had a life-guard of forty young men, well mounted and armed, and paying their own expenses. The cavalry amounted to one thousand horse, mares, geldings, and colts.*

The quarters at Bridgwater were very good, and for the most part free.† The country people were very slow in giving the King's army any assistance, but greatly aided Monmouth's force.‡

Here Monmouth raised more voluntary contributions than in any other place, by the management of Mr. Roger Hoare, Mr. William Coleman, and other great friends of the cause*, among whom were Mr. Hower (Hoare?) and Mr. Whithead.§

James II. says the numbers went on increasing hugely. The "lord-lieutenants were sent down, not so much with intent to oppose Monmouth as to hinder the country from flocking to him; for the King could have little confidence in the militia of these parts, who were framed (to be sure) of the same mould and temper with their neighbours."‖ Thousands went home again because they could not procure arms.

London was full of rumours about this time. One was, that the Duke of Albemarle's men had fired into the ground, and not at those they were sent to fight; and that, upon rough treatment at the hands of their officers, they had killed the Duke of Albemarle, whose body was brought up in a hearse to Westminster Abbey.¶

Among other anecdotes that pleased the supporters of James II. are the following:—

Some were heard to complain, that now they had

* Oldmixon. † Wade. ‡ Axe Papers.
§ Exam. J. Tillier, Feb. 22. Lansdown, 1152.
‖ Clarke's Life of James II.
¶ Hope's Evidence. Howell's State Trials.

made Monmouth King he was grown unwieldy and ungovernable; and there were those who scrupled not to own it, that they had fought against three kings, but did not doubt that they should try against this fourth.

Some of the Duke's grandees were overheard, when he was first in Bridgwater, speaking to this purpose in his presence: "We wonder the gentlemen come not in. Well, we will do the work without them, and then we will have their estates too."*

* Rev. A. Paschall.

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